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ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken to investigate the nature of the interaction between school and home in the case of Korean Americans who recently immigrated to Chicago and Los Angeles and to determine the nature of the elementary school experience of children from this group. Data were collected by means of three questionnaires: one for Korean American parents, one for children, and one for teachers of the children. A review of literature, design, methodology and procedures, and detailed analyses of findings for Chicago and Los Angeles separately and the two cities combined are included in this report. Recommendations are made with the aim of improving the school experiences of Korean American children. Tables of data are included. Questionnaires are appended. (MK)

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THE KOREAN-AMERICAN CHILD AT SCHOOL AND AT HOME

An Analysis of Interaction and Intervention through Groups

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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THE KOREAN-AMERICAN CHILD AT SCHOOL AND AT HOME

An Analysis of Interaction and Intervention through Groups

PROJECT REPORT
September 30, 1978–June 30, 1980

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of the
University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois

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FOREWORD

Some years ago, my five year old son came home from school, shortly after entering kindergarten in a predominantly white neighborhood, and asked me: "What am I? Am I a Korean or an American?" Trying to be a good mother, I told him that he was a Korean-American— he was born in the United States of Korean parents, and thus he had a rich heritage from two cultures. This did not comfort my son, nor did he seem to feel enlightened by the knowledge of his bicultural background. Instead, he protested, "If I am a Korean, why can't I speak Korean like you do? And if I'm an American, how come I don't look like the American kids in my class?" He paused for a moment and then delivered the final blow: "Besides, they call me Chinese!"

He was not only bewildered and frustrated, but angry over his muddled identity as a Korean-American. The Korean and American parts of him seemed to be opposite poles, and a Korean-American identity that would somehow unite them seemed hopelessly elusive. It did not make sense to him that I was urging him to be proud of his bicultural heritage at the same time that he had clearly perceived that he was in some ways different from both his parents and his classmates.

My son is not alone in wondering about his bicultural identity as he moves back and forth between the rather different worlds of his school and his home: at present there are an estimated 50,000 Korean-ancestry children in American schools. And it is probably too early to tell definitively what sort of adaptation they will ultimately make. Some will surely develop a rich bicultural identity, selecting and integrating the heritages and strengths of two cultures, while others will probably fall into a state of marginality, feeling that they belong to neither culture and hence have no cultural identity to call their own. Large numbers of Koreans have only emigrated to the United States in the last ten years or so; consequently, this report is in some ways an early bulletin on the progress of the new Korean immigrants in adapting to life in America. As we proceed with this report of our findings about the effects of the home-school interactions on the lives of Korean-American children, we will repeatedly refer to these two basic alternatives between which Korean-American immigrants and their children will ultimately have to choose: marginality and biculturality. The path toward these choices presents both exciting possibilities and some causes for real anxiety; in any case it is a new and challenging experience for Korean-Americans.

One need only review sociologist Lewis Hine's photographs of eastern European immigrants passing through Ellis Island in the early 1900s to realize the enormous range of ethnic cultural diversity that was rapidly and violently "discarded" by so many generations of immigrants from so many parts of the world. In an age dominated by the theory of the melting pot, this was regarded as part of the natural course of American history: immigrants were expected and encouraged to discard any cultural attributes that differed from those displayed by the white, northern European majority. The price of this strenuous cultural leveling has never been totally assessed--nor need it be in the case of groups, such as the Koreans, who are visibly distinct from the majority: the alternative of cultural subsumption has never really existed for them. Instead, the immigrant who belongs to a visible minority has usually faced the prospect of marginality, of belonging firmly to neither the donor nor the host culture.

The present, however, is a new era so far as immigrants and the immigration experience are concerned. Ethnic and racial groups in American society have reasserted their racial and cultural distinctness--often several generations after they had ostensibly been assimilated into the melting pot. It is surely significant that Haley's *Roots* became an instant best-seller and also attracted the largest prime-time television audience in history. Haley dealt only with black Americans, but obviously the desire to define and assert ones distinct ethnic identity proved to be compelling for many others in American society as well.

Such a resurgent interest in ethnic distinctness could not have taken root, however, were it not for a more general shift in American cultural attitudes, a shift away from monolithic assimilation and toward cultural pluralism, which has been taking place since the beginning of America's involvement in the cultural affairs of the larger, outside world. During the Spanish-American War--America's first real experience in the rough and tumble of geopolitics--American soldiers in the Phillipines sang a sarcastic and racist marching song about their "enemy," the so-called insurgents, ending with the refrain: "Underneath the starry flag/Civilize 'em with a Krag [the U.S. army rifle]/And return us to our beloved homes." Twenty years later, as hundreds of thousands of young Americans sailed home from America's second world encounter--World War I--a popular song asked, somewhat ambivalently, "How're you gonna keep 'em down on the farm/Now that they've seen Paree?" And the shift has continued: throughout the twentieth century the temper of American society has moved from one of cultural homogenization and subsumption of ethnic differences to a milieu which is both more tolerant of the expression of individual differences and more keenly aware of the reality of cultural relativism. It is in this changed climate of attitudes that the new cultural pluralism of *Roots* has flourished.

As we noted earlier, there is no way to predict exactly what sort of cultural adaptation will be achieved by the new Korean immigrants in their first hundred years in America, but one can outline the possibilities open to them. Being a visible minority, one option that is not open to Korean-Americans is that of "passing for white," of totally submerging their ethnic distinctness and becoming unnoticeable in American society. Another alternative that is open to them would be withdrawal into an ethnic enclave where they could preserve an hermetic version of their ethnic culture. This seems unlikely even at this early date: Korean-Americans appear generally to opt for economic mainstreaming and, often, the upward-mobile move to the suburbs. Eliminating this possibility leaves Korean-Americans with two likely alternatives: marginality and biculturality. In short, will Koreans fall between two cultures, ending up with no compelling ties to either, or will they succeed in developing a strong and viable biculturality, drawing upon and integrating the most positive aspects of both Korean and American culture?

The study reported here did not directly address this question of cultural futures, although a more general purpose of the study was to ascertain the present state of certain aspects of the process of cultural adaptation. And the study findings do in fact suggest various possibilities and pitfalls in the future course of Korean-American cultural evolution.

What we have found is that there is a strong foundation upon which Korean-Americans could develop a dynamic biculturality. There was much implicit cultural ambivalence on the part of the parents, but also a strong awareness of the importance of cultural influences on their parenting role and an intense desire to help their children to a successful future in America. The children proved to be bright, hard working, and usually successful in their mastery of the new environment; at the same time, they and their parents often appeared to have incipient cultural conflicts that may intensify with time. Finally, the public schools were found to be receptive to innovative thinking in the area of cultural adaptation. Overall, there are many positive resources for the development of Korean-American biculturality, and there are no insurmountable negative forces present.

This is not to say that a healthy biculturality will develop automatically, on its own, from these resources. Rarely do the actors understand the positive steps that they must take to bring this about: parents often are unaware that they must make conscious cultural choices; children sometimes cannot grasp the viable cultural alternatives offered to them by their parents; and public school personnel often do not realize the powerful part played by the children's school experience in influencing--or forcing--cultural choices.

A larger message of this report--beyond the many types of specific data presented--is, therefore, that the cultural future of Korean Americans is very much hanging in the balance. There is cause for optimism, in the sense that there is much to build on, many positive forces that could be harnessed to achieve true biculturality. We must note, however, that there is much urgency in the situation: if Korean-Americans are not helped to take advantage of their resources for biculturality then this may be an opportunity forever lost. A generation from now it may be difficult, if not impossible, for this group to backtrack and attempt to retrieve a cultural heritage, which could today be incorporated as a living component of a healthy biculturality. For this reason, we have been quite specific in our suggestions for future courses of action presented at the end of this report, and the personnel of the project have developed a proposal for a demonstration program to incorporate the findings of the project into a community action plan that could help many Korean Americans make the complex and crucial move toward a new biculturality. It is our sincerest hope that this program, and others like it, can be implemented while there is still time to make a real difference.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

At the outset, we would like to acknowledge and thank the more than 1500 parents, children, and teachers who participated as respondents in this study. Quite simply, there could have been no study without them; they willingly and even cheerfully gave time they did not have to spare and in the process provided a rich lode of data that will benefit a great many people they do not even know.

Second, we wish to acknowledge the efforts of the 26 project interviewers, 10 in Chicago and 16 in Los Angeles, who gave so much time and skill to the process of data collection. It was often difficult to make contact with parents whose work schedules left them little free time, and it was often necessary to sandwich teacher interviews into limited time slots. That the project goals were met is clear testimony to the dedication and hard work of the interviewers.

Over the two years of the project, several individuals filled the difficult position of field coordinator at the two field sites. In Chicago, Mrs. Chung Soo Yoon and Mr. Niel Tashima shared the task of supervision, contact, and followup. In Los Angeles, Mr. Alan Kim and Ms. Lillian Fabros served as field coordinators. These four individuals contributed immeasurably to the efficient day-to-day operation of the project in the field.

Just as an army marches on its stomach, a research project often has nothing but its project officer between its keel and disaster. Dr. Ray Rackley of the Administration for Children, Youth, and Families provided helpful--and wise--guidance at every stage of the project. We also want to thank him for his patience and assistance as we worked out the inevitable difficulties of conducting a complex project at two widely separated field sites.

At each of these sites, the project was made possible by many persons in the school systems where the study took place. To the principals of the participating schools we can only offer collective thanks for opening their schools to us and providing invaluable assistance with the process of teacher interviewing. In Chicago, we would like to thank Dr. Gerard Heing, who was then superintendent of Districts 2 and 24, for his assistance and encouragement at the early stages of the project, and for granting permission to conduct the study in his district. In Los Angeles, we extend thanks to Dr. Robert K. Sallander, chairman of the Committee on Research Studies of the Los Angeles Unified School District, for his assistance in securing permission to conduct the study in Los Angeles and to Dr. Richard Cooper, superintendent of the Los Angeles area where most of the Korean-American community is located, for granting permission and providing assistance in collecting data in his administrative district. During the process of deciding on the Los Angeles site area, Mr. Herbert Leong of the Asian-American Education Commission provided valuable assistance in identifying the most fruitful areas for the project.

At both sites, community support for the project was of great importance. In Los Angeles, we would like to thank the Asian American Mental Health Training Center and its director, Mr. Roy Morales, for making us welcome and helping with office facilities. In both communities the Korean-American newspapers (especially the *Korea Times*) were most helpful in publicizing the project and in helping disseminate the results directly to the ethnic communities from whom the data had been collected.

Finally, several persons provided valuable assistance in the construction of the survey instrument, in the interpretation of the results, and in the process of data analysis. Dr. Seymour Sudman of the Survey Research Laboratory at the University of Illinois provided many helpful suggestions in the design of the sampling procedure and helped solve problems as they developed in the field. Dr. Moonja Kim was in charge of data processing for the project; we acknowledge not only her skill, but her endless patience in running analysis after analysis to answer the successive generations of questions that arose during the interpretation of the data.

STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

Taken in its entirety, this document is a complete report of the data collection phase (years one and two) of this project. However, in so far as possible, the separate sections of the report have been made complete in themselves with respect to the area covered by each. Chapter I provides a general introduction to the problems addressed by the study, reviews the existing literature, outlines the methodology of the project, and describes the construction of the survey instruments used for the study. Chapter II provides a report of the data collection activities and results from year one of the project, conducted in Chicago, Illinois. Chapter III of the report covers the data collection and findings from year two of the project, in Los Angeles, California. Chapter IV contains a combined summary of demographic data from the two sites and presents data analyses performed on the combined data, reporting both common themes and instances of significant variance tebween the two sites. Chapter V, the executive summary, provides a compact statement of the conclusions, implications, and recommendations arising from the two-year data collection phase of the project.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

KOREAN-AMERICANS: THE PRESENT IN PERSPECTIVE

As visible minorities go in America, Korean-Americans are not a particularly large group, although their numbers are increasing steadily as a result of immigration. It is expected that the 1980 Census will find that there are 350,000 Americans of Korean ancestry, about 80% of whom are immigrants.[1] As these figures suggest, Korean-Americans are a recently-arrived group; there were a relatively small number of immigrants from Korea in earlier eras, beginning with sugar cane workers who were brought to Hawaii in 1902-1904, but a majority of the current Korean-American population is composed of persons who have immigrated since the 1965 amendments to the Immigration and Natualization Law.[2] Like most Asian groups, the Korean-Americans have tended to concentrate in a relatively small number of urban areas; they have formed substantial ethnic communities in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York City, and Washington, D.C.[3] Thus, although Korean-Americans constitute only about two-thirds of one percent of the total U.S. population, they are a sizeable minority in some areas. The Los Angeles Korean-American community, for example, is estimated to number over 200,000 persons.

In any case, the reasons for studying the Korean-American population have little to do with its size. As a group, Korean-Americans display qualities of hard work, rugged individualism, adaptability, self-confidence, and strong faith in the American dream of unlimited opportunity for all.[4] In this respect, they are an "ideal" minority, one that will probably achieve economic success in American life with no special assistance from government or the larger community. As such, Korean-Americans pose few threats to the American social fabric: they are unlikely to end up on the welfare rolls, probably will not turn to crime for a livelihood, are unlikely to take to the streets to express their grievances against society, and are probably not even very likely to become a political threat. In Machiavellian terms, Korean-Americans are a "safe" group: they may be "safely" ignored by the larger community without the danger that they will react with violence, social protest, or political organization and retaliation--and also, it might be added, without any real danger that they will fail so completely in their pursuit of the American dream that they will become a socioeconomic "problem group."

This is not to say that Korean-Americans are without problems: they have problems and they are very real, but these problems and their consequences have to do with mental health, pursuit of happiness, and achievement of full human potential. Observers who have spent much time in the Korean-American community have little trouble identifying these problem areas in a general way:[5]

- Underemployment, with consequent frustration and loss of sense of self-worth.
- Parent-child conflicts based on language and culture.
- A breakdown of the traditional three-generation Korean family.
- A "lost generation" of teenage immigrants who have failed to achieve positive self-identity from either Korean or American culture.
- A desire for biculturality, but no real sense of how to achieve it, or what problems it entails.
- Conflicting and unrealistic expectations of one's children.
- Major role shifts within the Korean nuclear family.

These problems are in addition to all the usual stresses suffered by a visible minority immigrant group attempting to adapt to life in a new and radically different cultural setting.

Visible minorities have differing, culturally-determined responses to these stresses. For example, Kitano[6] has observed that Japanese Americans tend to somaticize their problems; typically the results are ulcers, hypertension, and premature baldness. There has been no systematic study of stress responses among Korean-Americans, but there is some evidence, based on observations in the ethnic community, to suggest that violence and antisocial behavior (primarily in the family setting) may be typical outcomes. As part of the preliminary research for the present study, a survey was made of news items appearing in the Korean-language newspapers in Chicago and Los Angeles. During the six-month period surveyed, these newspapers reported a wide array of violent incidents between Korean-Americans, most often involving some sort of domestic violence. Also, personnel interviewed at ethnic travel agencies reported that a large number of battered wives regularly left their husbands to return to Korea. These symptoms appear to suggest severe disruptions in the traditionally strong and stable structure of the Korean family.

There is also research evidence for the more specific problems mentioned above. It is clear that a large number of highly educated Korean-Americans have been unable to transfer their education and job skills to the American job market.[7] There are frequent parental complaints that Korean-American children have become "too Americanized," while the children sometimes display thinly-disguised impatience or even contempt for their parents' difficulties with English. Grandparents often refer to themselves as "excess baggage," feeling useless because they have no contribution to make to the family in the American setting, while being completely dependent on the income and indulgence of their children. Korean-American youth who came to America in their teens often show social and academic problems in school and sometimes resort to gang behavior in order to define and establish a peer group; one Korean-American minister described these youth as "empty people," because they are cut off from both Korean and American culture. Whether general or specific, symptoms such as these suggest that Korean-Americans as a group are and will be undergoing severe sociocultural disruptions for a generation or more following immigration to America.

It is of course a fact that every group immigrating to America throughout history has undergone some degree of culture shock, adjustment stress, and sociocultural disruption and loss as part of the immigration experience. In general, these problems have been most severe for persons who were visibly distinct from the white, European majority, and whose cultural and linguistic backgrounds differed greatly from those of the majority group. In earlier periods, the adaptation of these minorities often involved some form of withdrawal from the mainstream of society. A prime example of this solution is the Chinese-American population, which for several generations confined itself to ethnic enclaves and concentrated on areas of business--such as hand laundries and ethnic restaurants--which were not in direct competition with majority-culture enterprises.[8] Some west coast Japanese-Americans pursued a similar course by developing thriving truck farms in areas that had previously been regarded as wasteland.[9] All such withdrawal strategies must be regarded as extremely tenuous solutions to finding a place as a visible minority in American society: time and again, Chinatowns became the sites of what can only be described as pogroms, and the internment of Japanese-Americans in concentration camps during World War II resulted in the takeover of their now-valuable truck farms by persons from the majority culture.[10]

It is too early to tell in detail what pattern will be followed by Korean-Americans as a group, although there are several trends that may indicate an accomodation quite different from that chosen by other visible minority groups. Some features of this adaptation are as follows: 1) an expectation of economic success in the majority culture, coupled with 2) strong retention of certain aspects of Korean culture, notably language, and 3) rapid flight to the (majority culture) suburbs, coupled with 4) development of an ethnic business district composed of businesses competing directly with majority culture enterprises (e.g., banks, car dealerships, and appliance stores, in addition to typical "ethnic" businesses). These trends suggest that Korean-Americans may tend toward rapid and aggressive mainstreaming in their economic lives, although it also seems clear that they wish to retain strong identification with their ethnic culture, and that an appreciable portion of their "mainstream" business efforts may remain centered in ethnic enclaves.

The more than 600 Korean ethnic churches in the United States (over 200 of which are in southern California) are significant because 1) they help maintain ethnicity and 2) because they manifest the bicultural trend. They help maintain ethnicity by providing consistent contact with other Koreans. They manifest the current bicultural trend through the high participation rate of their members, which reflects the high interest of Korean-Americans in maintaining some elements of their language and culture. For people engaged in working within the majority culture, the churches are a vehicle for such ethnic cultural maintenance.[11]

The exact form of the accomodation of Korean-Americans to the majority culture in America will only become clear over the course of the next 30 years or more--in other words, over the course of a generation. However, preliminary evidence suggests the Korean-Americans will probably not choose the extremes of either total submersion of ethnicity in the cultural mainstream, on the one hand, or withdrawal and preservation of intact ethnicity at the expense of mainstream participation, on the other. Rather, as we have noted above, they seem likely to opt for a combination of aggressive mainstreaming in some areas, coupled with firm retention of ethnicity in others.

The biculturality of the Korean community is part of the larger trend of retaining (or rediscovering) ethnic identity, which has become common to various peoples within the American society. This trend of ethnic awareness and identification grew out of the civil rights movement as an expression of the value of cultural and racial identities. People perceive their ethnicity as good or worthy so that they may perceive themselves as good or worthy. In addition, this trend contains a view of a multiethnic American society that is stronger and more vital than a homogeneous, melting-pot society.[12]

The Korean-Americans' cultural choices have several important implications. First, it means that the predominant life mode of Korean-Americans will probably become bilingual/bicultural, and that it will be likely to remain so for some time--perhaps for several generations. From this, it follows that Korean-Americans will have to develop a system of choices and compromises between the two cultures. In turn, this system of choice and compromise has direct consequences for the well-being of the individual (mainly with respect to the sense of marginality it engenders),[13] and may have an important impact on the relationship of parent and child (both in terms of intergenerational conflict and reduced parenting effectiveness as a result of the parents' own difficulties in clarifying cultural choices and compromises). In addition, we postulated that conflicting or contradictory expectations between the parents on how children should be raised may play a part. To that end we devised a questionnaire in two parts to be completed separately by the parents.

It may not be sufficient, however, to consider the intergenerational conflicts and parenting problems of Korean-Americans solely in terms of the parent-child relationship: the pertinent relationship may very well be the triadic one formed by the parent, the child, and the child's public school environment.[14] After all, for nine months of every year the elementary school child spends nearly a third of his or her waking hours in the environment of the school. In the case of a Korean-American child, this means spending a substantial portion of the day in an environment where the language, behavioral norms, and operational values may be more or less at variance with those of the child's home environment. And it is in this "American" environment of the school that the child undergoes a substantial proportion of his or her group socialization experience and nearly all of his or her formal cognitive training. It can scarcely be argued that the school environment can be ignored in studying the interaction of Korean-American parents and their children. The American public school has long been a battleground for political and ideological clashes, not the least of which is that of cultural pluralism versus an overall ideal of cultural assimilation (the "melting pot").[15] As visible minority children from a very different culture, Korean-American children are almost certain to be involved in this clash, and others like it. In such clashes, the educational function of the school may at times be put into the background, and it is unlikely that the children's parents will be in a position to be effective advocates, given their recent arrival in the U.S. and their own difficulties with acculturation. The result may be a substantial amount of parent frustration and feelings of powerlessness that connot help but exacerbate any parent-child conflicts that may be ascribed to the child's public school experience.

These, then, were some of the considerations that led to the present study. The Korean-American population does not constitute a problem minority in the usual sense of this term; however, the cultural history of this group, its expectations in America, its pattern of responses to social stress, and its preferred course of adaptation to American life all suggest that it may be an at-risk group.[16] Specifically, this group appears to run the risk of stresses in the traditional family structure, intergenerational cultural conflicts, and difficulties in coming to grips with the cultural choices and compromises required by the group's chosen bicultural adaptation to life in America.

GENERAL SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

All survey research studies are of course limited in the degree to which their results can be generalized to the populations from which their samples are drawn. This study is no exception, and, in addition, there are several cautions that must be stressed in the interpretation and generalization of the results. In part, these cautions arise from the nature of the subject population and, in part, they reflect the overall state of research in the theoretical area surrounding this study.

The subjects for the study were drawn from geographically defined areas of the Korean-American communities in Chicago and Los Angeles. Since the results from each study site are presented separately and in considerable detail in this report, there should be little problem in accurately assessing the characteristics of the study populations in the various dimensions that are addressed by the study. However, it should be remembered that the study populations may not represent the entire spectrum of the Korean-American community at either site, or in the country as a whole.

Both study areas, for example, are in transitional, inner-city neighborhoods. These areas contain fairly dense Korean-American enclaves, combined with other minorities of low to moderate socioeconomic status. Although there are obviously very large numbers of Korean-Americans living in these areas and others like them at the two study sites, one should be aware that many other Korean-American families have moved to the suburbs. Those Korean-Americans who do move to the suburbs have presumably been in the United States longer and probably are more educated and employed in higher-level jobs than those who remain in the ethnic enclave. Once in the suburbs, they do not settle in enclaves or neighborhoods together, but disperse thinly throughout areas that are mainly populated by white, majority culture persons. Hence, the population of the present study may contain disproportionate numbers of recently-arrived immigrants, of persons with lower educational levels, lower English proficiency, and lower job levels, and persons who have a stronger commitment to maintaining an active Korean-American enclave community. Since there is no reliable information on the characteristics of the Korean-American population as a whole, it is difficult to progress beyond generalities and hypotheses in this area. It is possible that the 1980 Census will provide the necessary national figures to make more accurate statements about the representativeness of the study sample.

There are also several other areas in which limitations should be noted. First, the study has not attempted to control for such variables as differences between schools and between classroom teachers. It is fairly certain that both of these variables have strong effects. For example, at both sites some schools were undergoing severe disturbances as a result of busing or magnet school programs. Then too, the teacher interviewers indicated that there were often large differences in atmosphere from one school to another; sometimes these differences appeared to reflect the personality, philosophy, and educational style of the school principal. There were also very great differences in the design and implementation of the special language programs for Korean-American children at the participating schools. These ranged from cursory pullout programs offering a minimal amount of ESL (English as a second language) instruction to fairly ambitious bilingual/bicultural classes. Finally, there was the usual wide range in teacher experience, ability, philosophy, and attitude. It is not possible to control for school and classroom variables within the methodological framework of a study such as this. Since the sample is of necessity spread across a large number of schools and classrooms, there would be too few subjects per cell to perform a meaningful analysis of these effects.

There are also other limitations on the generalizability of the results that may arise from the nature of the school environment at the study sites. For example, there was little agreement on the definition of "bilingual" as applied to school programs. Also, the generally very high ratings the teachers gave to the Korean-American children may result from comparing them to the minority students of low socioeconomic status who make up most of the student bodies at the participating schools.

The ambiguity about the definition of bilingual education is not limited to the schools; as we shall discuss later, there are significant ideological and methodological divisions in the field of bilingual education as a whole.[17] Likewise, the precision of our discussions of pluralism, assimilation, and biculturality is somewhat limited by the lack of definitive theoretical models for purposes of reference and comparison. These are areas in which there is still a great deal of flux and speculation, and in which the available theoretical framework is often inadequate to explain and map the complex life situations of our respondents. It is obvious that a great deal of additional study is needed in areas such as these.

THE EXISTING LITERATURE

The search of the existing literature, which was conducted at the outset of the project, revealed very little research on the school-home interaction in the lives of immigrant children. In particular, research concerning Asian-American groups in this area is scanty, and in the case of Korean-Americans it is all but nonexistent. Most studies that concerned this area were made before 1940, and they were generally limited to Japanese and Chinese-American populations on the west coast. Nevertheless, some items in the existing literature are useful for the perspectives they offer on the results of the present study, and these items are therefore discussed in this section. The presentation that follows, therefore, is organized according to categories of investigation that have bearing on the concerns of the project.

ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE OF ETHNIC MINORITY STUDENTS

Because of the relatively recent arrival of most of the Korean-American population, there has been no investigation of the value structure of Korean-American families as it relates to the public school experience of the children. Similar research has, however, been conducted with respect to other ethnic minorities.

Schwartz[18] reported the results of a study of 254 Japanese-American students in the 6th, 9th, and 12th grades in Los Angeles, conducted in 1964. These students, together with approximately 1,950 non-Japanese students, completed a questionnaire containing demographic items and scalograms for determining value orientation. The results of the value orientation scales were then correlated with academic performance.

It was found that in the case of the Japanese-American students high academic achievement was correlated with high faith in human nature, low independence from peers, low self-esteem, and low instrumental orientation. On the other hand, high academic achievement in Anglo pupils tended to be related to high future orientation, high idealized school goals, high faith in human nature, and high orientation toward family authority, coupled with low orientation toward formal school compliance and high self-esteem.

Because of this difference in the values that are associated with high academic achievement by the two groups, Schwartz challenges Kitano's generalization, "Scratch a Japanese-American and find a white Anglo-Saxon Protestant."[19] Instead, Schwartz suggests that, although both Japanese-American and Anglo cultures value high academic achievement, they may do so for quite different reasons, with the Japanese-American culture being much more concerned about academic success for the fulfillment of communal goals.

Other findings reported by Schwartz are that the Japanese-American students have higher career aspirations (80% aspire to upper-level white collar occupations), intend to go to college (85% of the sample), and are upwardly mobile in their career aspirations (58% to 68%, depending on grade).

Ablon[20] examined the factors leading to successful and unsuccessful urban adaptation by Samoans and American Indians in an unspecified west coast city. While both groups face language problems due to their non-European language backgrounds and are placed in an environment radically different from their native, kin-oriented society, their degree of success in adapting to the urban setting has been quite different. Immigrants from American Samoa are mostly successful, according to Ablon, because their value background stresses acceptance of hierarchical authority, social conformity for the common good, and self-help activities. Conversely, the American Indian value structure observed by Ablon tends to cause great difficulties in adaptation to the urban environment: anti-competitiveness, a tendency to withdraw in the face of conflict, lack of future orientation, fierce resistence to manipulation by outside forces, and concentration of loyalty to a relatively narrow kinship group.

It should be noted that Ablon's contention that many Samoan "operational values are middle class" would be subject to the same objection made by Schwartz to Kitano's assertion of value congruence between Japanese-American and Anglo cultures. That is, while operational results may be similar, the underlying value structures that achieve these results may be quite different. Ablon's study is apparently based on informal observations and, as such, does not attempt to map the underlying value structures that lead to the middle class operational values of the Samoans. The concern of this study is primarily with social and economic interactions within the adult world, although it seems likely that the value orientations discussed by Ablon would be applicable to the interaction of the ethnic child with the school as well.

Manaster and King[21] conducted a study of group cohesiveness and academic achievement in Mexican-American high school students in the southwestern United States. The study was based on existing data in that it attempted to correlate variance in grade point average (GPA) and the minority/majority status of Mexican-Americans in the various schools in the study.

While many of the results reported are not statistically significant, the authors claim that the trends offer some support to their hypothesis that Mexican-American students will show greater group cohesiveness, as expressed by reduced GPA variance, when they constitute a relatively small minority in the school. Conversely, the GPA variance of Mexican-American students tends to be greater when they constitute a clear majority of the school population, perhaps because they feel less threatened and therefore more able to express individual differences. Thus a social characteristic--group cohesiveness--may interact with social conditions in the school to affect individual academic performance.

Rich[22] has suggested that conflicts in values in the school and home may lead to difficulties for the lower class child:

> Many teachers, unintentionally and without realization of the far-reaching consequences, try to get lower class children to adopt a code of behavior that is, on the one hand, quite foreign and unnatural to them and, on the other hand, a code whose adoption goes not only unrewarded in the home environment, but may, in fact, draw censure and rebuke.[23]

According to Rich, many teachers impose their own middle class, upwardly mobile, value system on lower class children, "in the mistaken belief that social mobility is equally open to everyone."

It seems safe to say that the teaching profession today is, if anything, more strongly middle class than at the time Rich was writing. However, it remains to be shown whether this middle class value orientation on the part of teachers has the potential for creating school/home conflict in children who, like the Japanese-Americans and the Samoans, come from backgrounds that evince middle class operational values but that may possess underlying, non-middle class, value systems as well. The picture is further complicated in the case of Korean-Americans because it seems clear, on the basis of informal observation and some quantitative results, that the Korean-American value system tends more in the direction of "rugged individualism" than communal action.[24]

BILINGUALISM AND IMMIGRANT-HOST RELATIONS

Since the early 1960s there has been substantial emphasis in American education on the role of bilingual education in the school experience of children whose native language is not English. For at least the last decade this interest has been stimulated by the distribution of federal funds and by court decisions that have clarified the rights of non-English speaking students (e.g., Lau vs. Nichols).[25] In spite of this interest, there is little clear agreement on the role of bilingual education in the process of cultural assimilation. In part, this can be attributed to the Supreme Court decision in Lau vs. Nichols that left open the question of what methodology would satisfy the Court's demand for equality of access to learning. In effect, the Court left the methodology of the bilingual program up to the local school districts. The wording of the decision suggests that a transitional program--one which provides ethnic language instruction as a temporary bridge to learning while the student learns English--would satisfy the legal requirement of equal opportunity, and this is the approach that has been taken by most school districts. For example, the large and quite comprehensive bilingual education program undertaken by the state of California is based on a transitional model. However, there is anything but unanimous agreement on the adoption of the transitional model. In particular, the Hispanic community has been a strong advocate of a maintenance model for bilingual education, arguing that maintaining a stable condition of diglossia is essential for the development of positive self-identity among its children.

Among Korean-Americans, the transitional model appears generally acceptable: most Korean-American parents have high expectations of academic success for their children and would thus tend to support a transitional bilingual program if it offers the promise of improved school performance for their children. Conversely, there does not seem to be much pressure from Korean-American parents for maintenance bilingual programs in the schools; most see this as an area that should be handled privately within the ethnic community. Thus, the choice of a transitional methodology for school bilingual programs for Korean-American children would not generally appear to cause any opposition within the ethnic community.

One difficulty that Korean-American bilingual programs do share with virtually all other such programs is that of staffing. It is simply very difficult to find enough truly bilingual and bicultural persons who are qualified to teach in a bilingual program. In the case of Korean-Americans, the problem is that many otherwise qualified persons have only an imperfect command of English. This is probably also true of other recently arrived Asian groups. Conversely, groups with very long histories of U.S. residence (such as some Hispanic groups) may have the opposite problem: many qualified persons will have only a limited or "academic" grasp of the ethnic culture and language. In either case, staffing problems appear to be a severe limiting factor in implementing bilingual education programs in the public schools.

Kjolseth[26] has contended that, depending upon how they are conducted, bilingual programs may either be a strong force for assimilation or may work to preserve pluralism. To demonstrate these two extremes, he develops a pluralistic model and an assimilation model for bilingual programs. There are many elements to these models, but basically the pluralistic model may be characterized as promoting interest and pride in the culture actually experienced by the pupils, while the assimilation model emphasizes aspects of the ethnic culture that are "classical" or "pure," to the denigration of the local ethnic culture. The result of the assimilation model is to cause ethnic students to regard their culture as a museum piece and, in turn, to use the ethnic language primarily as an interim tool for teaching English.

Basic to Kjolseth's distinction between these models is the premise that the preservation and enhancement of ethnic language and culture depends upon fostering "bilingual use outside the school and balanced diglossia...whereas a program which restricts or inhibits bilingual use in other than school domains and erodes diglossic community norms is one which must be characterized as promoting linguistic assimilation." It should perhaps be noted here that Kjolseth's strictures are most clearly applicable to communities such as the Mexican-American, where there may be a strong historical distinction between the nominal parent culture--for example, the Hispanic-Castillian--and the local ethnic culture. In the case of Korean-Americans, no such distinction can readily be made, and, in addition, the community is heavily in favor of preserving what Kjolseth calls "stable diglossia," a condition in which there are circumscribed and accepted uses for both the ethnic language and English.

In view of the special conditions existing in the Korean-American community, the pertinent question may concern the degree of consonance or dissonance between the bilingual program model evident in the schools and the strongly held convictions of the parents in the community. Kjolseth notes that, as of 1969, most of the programs developed for bilingual education adhered most strongly to the assimilation model. This may be a particular problem in ethnic groups where most of the qualified bilingual teachers are persons who are strongly assimilated and who are therefore not truly bilingual and bicultural. It is not likely to be a problem among Korean-Americans, where the bilingual personnel are much more likely to be lacking indepth knowledge about the majority culture. Programs conducted by such persons will not necessarily tend toward Kjolseth's assimilationist model; on the other hand, however, they may not be very effective in developing a pluralistic approach, since this approach requires a critical understanding of both cultures. This may be a matter of some concern to Korean-American communities since the data in the present study indicate that the respondent parents sometimes hold seemingly contradictory expectations for their children about such matters as the retention of Korean language and culture and the acquisition of English and corresponding aspects of American culture. Since the parents themselves do not appear to have faced and resolved these choices between aspects of the two cultures, it may be quite important that teachers in Korean-American bilingual programs be able to help the children in this area.

Christian and Sharp[27] present what might be termed a more traditional and humanistic view of the essential task of bilingual education. They do not see an inherent conflict between the "local" and "classical" forms of the ethnic tradition but, rather, consider that one grows out of the other. For example, they posit that there is a cultural continuity in the ethnic experience that allows Mexican-American students to grasp quickly subtle points in classical Spanish literature that are very difficult for even the most gifted Anglo students to understand. Christian and Sharp see the emphasis on the humanistic utility of ethnic languages as one way to escape the present situation in which "bilingualism...is associated with the culture of poverty and with academic failure." Such an alternative must, of course, answer to Kjolseth's charge that emphasis on the "classical," as opposed to the "local," ethnic culture will actually tend to destroy the latter.

This is a limited problem in the case of Korean-American culture. The normlessness and political instability of Korea in the last three decades, together with the rapid economic and industrial development, have made it extremely difficult to define what would be meant by "pure" Korean culture. Also, most Korean immigrants have arrived in the United States quite recently. Conversely, for ethnic cultures such as the Chinese-American or Mexican-American, which have a long history of isolation from the "classical" culture, this may be a severe problem indeed.

The solutions offered by Christian and Sharp seem to be largely the result of their experience as college teachers of foreign languages. They advocate alternatives to the traditional "grammar and translation" approach to foreign language instruction, especially for ethnic students. These recommendations may be of some importance to persons involved in college level instruction in ethnic languages and cultures, but they would have only limited application to public school bilingual education programs.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF ACCULTURATION

In some respects, the Korean-American community is composed largely of persons who are atypical of immigrant groups. As a result of the disparity between the success of the educational systems and the economic systems in third world countries, many Korean-American immigrants are extremely well-educated and have some history of social involvement in the professional classes of society. As parents they may be expected to have high aspirations and expectations for their children in terms of education and career choice, while their own process of assimilation may be strongly influenced by their relatively high educational and socioeconomic level prior to immigration.

Weinstock[28] advanced a structural theory of acculturation which stated in part:

> With reference to industrialized societies, the higher the immigrant's position on the occupational prestige scale in the country of origin, and the greater the transferability of his skill, the more acculturated he is likely to become in the country where he settles.[29]

This theory was later modified by Silvers[30] who added certain qualifiers to the principle stated above:

> For industrial societies, (1) the higher the immigrant's former occupational status, (2) the more transferable his skill, (3) the less the positive value upon ethnic identity by members of the host society, and (4) the more equal the prestige of the occupational field in the two societies, the greater the rate of acculturation.[31]

These qualifications are necessary, according to Silvers, because of the many factors that may enter into the choices made by an individual with respect to acculturation. For example, Italian-born operatic singers and voice coaches often deliberately maintain an Italian accent and visible Italian lifestyle because of the supposed excellence of Italian vocal art in the eyes of their American clientele.

The applicability of such structural theories to Korean-American immigrants is as yet undetermined, and it may be complicated by the fact that Koreans are a visible minority. For example, Kitano[32] and Daniels and Kitano[33] have hypothesized that relatively rapid assimilation and success in American society may be dependent on congruence between the underlying ethnic value structure and the value structure of the WASP society. In any case, the present study has attempted to obtain basic demographic and attitudinal information that may bear upon the question of whether this group is able to achieve lateral mobility upon immigration as a result of educational level and occupational status.

THE COMPARATIVE EXPERIENCE OF THE MAJORITY CULTURE

To some extent all research on ethnic minorities depends for its validity upon reliable knowledge of the norms of the majority culture. In the case of the interaction of school and home values, parental attitudes toward the school, and the interaction of parent and child expectations and aspirations, the available information about the majority culture is largely non-quantitative. However, with the increased concern over school accountability in the past decade, some writers have begun to consider home-school interaction in mapping the structure of children's educational experience.

Several British studies, for example, have considered the effect of social class on parental attitudes toward the schools, and the extent of parental participation in the educational process. Mays,[34] Douglas,[35] the Plowden Report,[36] and Green[37] all suggest that parental attitudes--and with them, parental participation--have a decisive effect on the child's educational success. In the case of the disadvantaged, however, there is an additional problem. As Green observes: "There is little point in having an attitude towards a process you feel (you) cannot affect; your attitude will be one of passivity and resignation."[38] Jackson and Marsden[39] likewise reported a social class effect in parent participation:

> The schools usually offered an annual opportunity for parents to consult teachers, and of course it was always possible to make an appointment with the head (teacher). Yet it was clear indeed that these opportunities were only taken up by the more prosperous.[40]

Educational consultants to the present study have suggested that a similar phenomenon would probably be observed in American schools: parent participation would probably be greater in the higher socioeconomic strata, and, in addition, parents whose children are doing relatively well in school may be more likely to contact the school than might parents whose children are doing poorly.

Since 1969, annual Gallup Polls of attitudes of the American public toward education have been conducted under the sponsorship of the Charles F. Kettering Foundation (CFK, Inc.) and related funding sources.[41] Some of the items included in these polls over the years provide some evidence as to the involvement of American parents in the school experience of their children. For example, the 1969 survey asked a number of questions dealing with the communication between school and public, and respondent contact with the schools. Unless otherwise noted, Gallup Poll figures quoted here are for the subsample of parents with children in the public schools, since this group most closely resembles the sample in the present study.

With respect to communication about the schools, 57% of the parents had received some sort of material about the schools in the past year, while 39% had not; 65% had read something about the schools in the local newspapers in the last month, while 29% had not; radio and television were less common sources of information. When asked to name the "best source of information about the local schools," parents named the following sources, in order of frequency: local newspaper (34%), word of mouth (31%), school personnel (23%), meetings at school (20%), school publications (12%), and radio and TV (11%). Although the school-centered sources of information received relatively low ratings from the parents, these ratings were in fact higher than those given by the general population.

Overall, this poll suggests that the public is not extremely well informed about the schools. Although the public school parents were somewhat better informed than the general public, 50% said they knew "some" about the public schools and 23% said they knew "very little," while 27% claimed to know "quite a lot." These figures are supported by additional items that asked for specific pieces of information about the schools. Also, the parents appear to be aware of their lack of knowledge: 77% said they would like to know more about the schools. Nonwhites were more likely than whites (76% versus 64% of the general public) to want to know more about the schools.

Citizen participation in school activities is higher among public school parents than in the general population and appears to be affected by socioeconomic status and education, but not by race. Of the public school parents, 59% had attended some function at school during the past year, while 41% had not. In the general population (including parents, who are not disaggregated), participation increases from 11% at the bottom of the income scale to 50% at the top; the education scale runs from 14% to 57% participation; and the occupation scale runs from 13% to 51% participation. The occupation scale is the only one on which participation does not increase consistently from bottom to top. Farmers showed a slightly higher participation rate than business and professional people. This may result from the wording of the questionnaire; the item mentions attendance at "social occasions," and schools in rural areas are perhaps more often used as community centers for events that have little or no connection with the school's educational functions.

Parent PTA attendance does not appear to be particularly large: only 22% "regularly" attend, while another 30% are members but do not attend regularly. Even fewer parents (18%) had "ever" attended a school board meeting.

A later Gallup Poll in the same series (1976) raises other questions about the nature of the home-school relationship. When asked what they thought could be done to improve the quality of the public schools, 41% of the general population named "improving parent-school relations"; this response ranked fourth, behind discipline, finances, and integration-related responses. Also, public school parents were even less likely to cite this response (36%, fifth ranking), perhaps because--as the earlier survey shows--they are better informed about the schools than is the general public.

As measured by another item, however, there appears to be a definite concern with improving parent-school interaction. When asked whether they thought it would be a good idea to provide courses to help parents help their children in school, 77% of the respondents replied "yes." Further, nonwhites were more likely than whites (84% versus 76%) to think such courses were a good idea.

A theme reiterated by several writers on home-school interactions is that the communication tends to move in one direction only--usually from school to home. According to Ryan,[42] the involvement is one-sided because "the school authorities decide how much involvement is to be accepted....Direct communication to parents (other than the call from the principal's office) or to the general public is categorically regarded as a public relations program." This view is shared by Saxe.[43] Sayler[44] characterizes school-home communications as "too formal and structured," taking place primarily through written communications or committees. The primary channels of personal communication between teacher and parent are generally recognized to be the regularly scheduled parent-teacher conference and the note or phone call from school. Saxe observes that notes and calls are usually about problems: "The practice of calling or writing parents to compliment them or their child is still rare enough to be reported as a kind of creative innovation in educational periodicals."[45]

School-home interaction in American society at large is mostly described in qualitative terms in the existing literature. With the exception of a few Gallup Poll items mentioned above, there is little evidence of the frequency of school-home contacts. On the other hand, the quality of such contacts has tended to be evaluated subjectively, either by school personnel--who feel they are going out of their way to be communicative--or by critics of the American educational system--who tend to see such efforts as perfunctory or motivated by public relations concerns. Given the lack of any general agreement on what constitutes effective home-school interaction, let alone how it should be achieved, it is perhaps not surprising that the quantitative information about this interaction is largely anecdotal.

Two published studies that have gathered quantitative information on the extent of teacher-parent contact have done so only from the aspect of the teacher. Lortie[46] found the rate of contact between teachers and parents to be relatively low; generally, the teachers in his study had two or fewer contacts with parents during a month, although a quarter of the teachers reported three to six contacts per month. Lortie does not report the total proportion of parents contacted over the course of a school year, but he does note that most teachers preferred to restrict their contacts to parents of children who were experiencing school problems. Also, teachers in low socioeconomic status schools were much more interested in increasing parent contact than were teachers in high status schools. Lortie observes:

> The answers illuminate the reasons for the difference; the problems teachers encounter with parents are different in the two contexts. In lower-status schools, parents often fail to respond to teacher invitations to come in and discuss the student; in higher-status schools, parents are likely to show up without invitation. Few teachers expressed enthusiasm for such spontaneous visits.[47]

Thus the teachers do not appear so much to be concerned with increasing parent contact per se as with exercising control over the frequency and form of the contacts.

Another suggestion of the frequency of teacher-parent contact is provided by Corwin and Wagenaar,[48] again as reported by the teacher. Defining "contact" with a parent as a private discussion lasting 10 to 15 minutes, they found large differences among schools in the average number of contacts made by teachers over the preceding four weeks. At some schools, the teachers had averaged less than one contact, while at others they averaged over 29 contacts; the overall average for all schools in the study was slightly over five contacts per teacher. Corwin and Wagenaar found several characteristics of the school and staff to be correlated with the frequency of teacher contact with parents. The rate of contact decreased with increased centralization and formalization of the school structure, with increased solidarity of teacher organizations, and with increases in the teachers' formal training. On the other hand, greater seniority of staff and a higher proportion of low socioeconomic status students both correlated with higher rates of contact with parents. The latter finding is contrary to both the prediction of Corwin and Wagenaar and the reports of Lortie's respondents.

Taken together, these studies suggest that rates of contact between teachers and parents are relatively low, and that such contacts are only valued by teachers when the teachers initiate the contact. It should be kept in mind, however, that Corwin and Wagenaar found large variations in contact rate from one school to another. The rate of contact appears to be heavily influenced by factors in the structure and staff of the school, as well as by the socioeconomic status of the student body, although it is not clear what the effect of this factor may be under different circumstances.

The General Mills *American Family Report*[49] also provides some quantitative data of interest, collected by survey from 1,230 households. One finding is that minority children apparently perceive their parents to have higher expectations of them than majority children do. In addition, when the child respondents are classified by family income it appears that children of lower income families perceive their parents to have higher expectations of them than is the case for more affluent children.

Another point of interest is the ranking of aspirations by the children in the General Mills survey. Entertainment stars and athletes top the list, followed by physicians, lawyers, teachers, firemen, and policemen. Science is notably far down the list, and fully 23% of the girls aspire to be mothers. As will be noted later, the career aspirations of the Korean-American children in the present study follow a rather different pattern.

Disciplinary measures used by parents in the General Mills survey appear to be somewhat different from those used by the Korean-American parents. While scolding and spanking are the most prevalent types of discipline with both groups, the General Mills parents made a good deal of use of confining the child to his/her room and taking away privileges; few Korean-American parents used these methods.

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Basically, the study involves survey research conducted with three interrelated groups: non-native Korean-American children, their parents, and the children's public school teachers. Initially, the design called for the use of the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale[50] with the children and the Levinson and Huffman Traditional Family Ideology Scale with the parents. However, it soon became apparent that the American cultural loading of these instruments would severely limit their applicability to the population under study. Therefore, as noted in the section on questionnaire construction, these instruments were used only as models for developing some of the questionnaire items.

The strategy of the survey research was to obtain types of information from each group that appeared, a priori, to be of probable significance in mapping the concerns and interactions of the group with the other groups. Thus, the questionnaire for each group would elicit some types of information unique to that group and would also cover areas that all groups had in common. For example, only the parents were asked to provide demographic information, but all the groups were questioned about parental expectations of the child. Comparison and analysis of the responses of the three groups on analogous items has provided some insights into areas of consonance and dissonance among the groups with respect to attitudes, perceptions, and expectations. These results are discussed later in the report.

No control group was used in this study. There were several reasons for this decision. First, it was felt that administering the questionnaire to a control group of majority children, parents, and teachers would place unrealistic demands on the participating schools in terms of time commitment and personnel involvement. To reduce these demands, it would have been necessary to drastically reduce the size of the sample. This seemed unwise, partly because of the resulting problems of statistical reliability, but, more importantly, because of the existing state of knowledge about Korean-American children. There has been virtually no previous research in this area, and therefore it was deemed particularly important to gather a wide range of data from the largest possible sample. In addition, it was felt that existing data could be found for purposes of comparing the study results with conditions in the majority culture. Finally, the data gathered from the teachers concerning child behavior and achievement would tend to be inherently relative in any case; that is, the teachers would automatically compare the Korean children to their other students. Existing data that have been used for comparison purposes in evaluating the results of the present study are discussed in the literature review section of this report.

QUESTIONNAIRE CONSTRUCTION

Each "case" surveyed in this project actually involved collecting data from four persons: two Korean-American parents, their child, and the child's teacher. To this end, project personnel constructed a parent questionnaire, a child questionnaire, and a teacher questionnaire.

PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE

There are two parts to the parent questionnaire. The first section (about two-thirds of the complete instrument) is administered to both parents together, while the second part is provided in two copies, one for each parent to fill out individually. The English version of the parent questionnaire is appended to this report, although only the Korean version was used in the interviews. The past experience of the Principal Investigator has been that non-native Korean Americans almost always express a strong preference for communicating with other Korean-Americans in Korean.

A number of the items for the parent questionnaire were originally developed and used in an earlier, more limited, project sponsored by the Asian-American Mental Health Research Center (AAMHRC).[51] On the basis of the experience with the AAMHRC study, these items were revised, or replaced, or discarded. Some of the demographic items were modeled after similar items in a questionnaire developed by the Principal Investigator for use in the earlier study of four Asian-American groups in Chicago, funded by the National Institute on Mental Health, which has been mentioned above.

Items in the parent questionnaire were designed to collect data in the following areas: demographics, the immigration experience, parent perceptions of the child's school experience, parent-child interactions, the nature and frequency of parent contacts with the school, parent attitudes toward education, and parent attitudes toward biculturality.

As noted earlier, the research design originally called for the use of a test instrument to measure the dimension of the traditional family ideology in the respondent parents. The usual instrument for this purpose is the Traditional Family Ideology Scale of Levinson and Huffman. However, the attitudinal statements of this scale appear to be oriented toward the traditional American family ideology of the 1940s and early 1950s. Thus, the Levinson and Huffman items would, in most cases, be either incomprehensible or culturally irrelevant to non-native Korean-Americans. Therefore, those items from Levinson and Huffman that appeared useful for tapping certain Korean-American cultural attitudes were reworded and incorporated in the attitudinal section of the questionnaire. (Examples are items 62, 67, 68, and 70). Aside from these modified borrowings, the questionnaire items were generated by the project staff or utilized on the basis of their success in earlier questionnaires administered by the Principal Investigator.

The final parent questionnaire contains 80 numbered items, although several questions contain multiple parts, resulting in a total of 89 distinct items. Most of the items are precoded, but 22 are open-ended. The first section of the questionnaire, which is administered to both parents together, contains 64 items (including all of the open-ended items), while the individual section of the questionnaire contains 25 items, mostly of an attitudinal nature.

Once the questionnaire was assembled in final form, it was translated into Korean by members of the project staff and checked for accuracy by other Korean-speaking persons.

CHILD QUESTIONNAIRE

Originally it was intended to observe the children in a naturalistic setting, utilizing trained observers and a behavioral checklist to record interaction of the study children with classroom teachers and peers. However, as the study was developed, this element of the methodology was discarded since it presented several conceptual and practical difficulties. One consideration was that such observations would largely reflect the variable of the classroom teacher. This drawback would have been avoided by conducting observations of peer interaction during play periods, but the play periods at the participating schools were generally quite brief and collecting meaningful amounts of data would have required using an impractically large number of observers to compensate for the short contact time. This approach is obviously undesirable because of the potential obtrusiveness and disruption of school routine. Another consideration was that interpretation of observational data would have been very time-consuming for a sample of any size, since these data are only partly quantitative. Finally, such data are difficult to integrate with survey data in a meaningful and statistically sound manner. Therefore, it was decided to limit the child data collection to a survey instrument.

In the literature of survey research there appear to be few examples of survey instruments for interviewing young children. The child questionnaire developed for the present study seeks to determine the child's attitudes toward the school experience, the child's perception of his/her parents' role in the home-school interaction, and some factual information about the child's school experience. Additional requirements for the questionnaire were that it be relatively brief (so that it could be administered to the child while the parents were occupied with their individual sections of the parent questionnaire) and that the items be bilingual (since it could not generally be determined beforehand whether the child had greater comprehension of Korean or English).

Two sources of possible items considered were a draft questionnaire developed by a research group at the University of Illinois for use with Mexican-American children and some of the projective items from the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale.[52] No actual items from either source were incorporated in the final questionnaire, but these sources were used as benchmarks of the level of language and concept difficulty that could be successfully utilized in a questionnaire for elementary school children.

The first two items (asking for the child's school and teacher) are merely introductory, while the succeeding items gradually progress toward areas, such as discrimination, which are potentially more sensitive. Other items aim at determining the child's role models, at his/her perceptions of parental expectations, and at the child's preference for aspects of one culture or the other in certain areas.

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

Because of the constraint of time available for the interview, the teacher questionnaire was necessarily brief. Items 1 through 20 detail the perceived strengths and weaknesses of the child in various developmental areas. These items are similar to those found in many checklists used by elementary school teachers in preparing progress reports. Several such checklists, provided by public school teachers in Champaign and Urbana, Illinois, were consulted in preparing the items finally included in the questionnaire.

Items 21 through 34 were designed to cover various areas in which a non-native Korean-American child might be expected to display behaviors differing somewhat from those of the majority children in the classroom. Some items (e.g., 21, 26-30, and 33) are related to evidence of selected Korean cultural traits.

The remaining items in the teacher questionnaire cover various areas that are also covered in the parent questionnaire. In this way, it was hoped to determine areas of both consonant and dissonant perceptions and expectations on the part of the parents and teachers.

Considerable care was taken in the construction of the teacher questionnaire to avoid presenting questions in such a way as to prejudice the teacher negatively against the child. It was also decided to minimize the number of value judgments the teachers would be required to make about the suitability of the school program for the child.

CODING AND DATA ANALYSIS

The coding system was devised on the basis of the responses observed on the first 30 sets of questionnaires from the Chicago sample that were completed and edited. In the case of the Los Angeles data, it was necessary to add some additional categories to coding to accommodate the open-ended responses from the much larger Los Angeles sample.

The SPSS program[53] was used for data analysis. In addition to tabulation of responses, the program was used to determine simple correlations between a number of selected items. These correlations may be of considerable interest because, in many cases, the parent, child, and teacher questionnaires seek similar factual or attitudinal information from all three sets of respondents.

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CHAPTER II: FINDINGS FROM THE CHICAGO SAMPLE

DATA COLLECTION

SAMPLING PROCEDURE

The distribution of non-native Korean-American children is very nonuniform among the Chicago school districts. Thus the aim of the sampling procedure for the first year of the project was to select districts in which large concentrations of the target group were present. This was done to both simplify the data collection process and focus the study on schools where enough non-native Korean-American children were present to make it likely that the school was well aware of their presence. Districts 2 and 24 (which are contiguous and form a single administrative unit) and District 1 appeared to meet these requirements better than any other districts in the Chicago area. Data from a 1976 language survey conducted by the Chicago schools indicated similar concentrations of Korean-speaking children in these districts. However, information gathered in the course of the present study indicates that many of the non-native Korean-American families in Districts 2 and 24 have subsequently moved to neighborhoods in District 1.

Inquiries were made to the district superintendents of the districts involved, and permission was granted to conduct the study in Districts 2 and 24. Permission to contact parents in District 1 was denied, thus somewhat restricting the potential sample pool.

The sampling procedure was examined by the superintendent of Districts 2 and 24 to ensure that it protected the confidentiality of the family members and did not disrupt school routine. It was agreed that the schools would be able to provide the clerical help needed to address and mail contact letters to the parents.

In order to familiarize the school principals with the study, the district superintendent made a presentation describing the project at a district principals' meeting. This session was used to clarify the sampling procedure--and the role of the schools in the procedure--and to answer the principals' questions about the study and the possible application of the results to their schools.

UNIVERSE OF THE SAMPLE

According to the 1976 school language survey, there are 15 elementary schools in Districts 2 and 24 that have enrollments of 10 or more Korean-speaking children. There are no direct data available on the number of families represented by these children, but there are several ways to extrapolate this figure. Demographic information collected in an earlier study (Kim and Condon, 1975) suggested that the average number of children in Chicago Korean-American families was between one and two. Thus it seemed likely that the participating schools in Districts 2 and 24 could be supposed to serve approximately 300 non-native Korean-American families having elementary school age children.

As noted above, there has apparently been some out-migration of non-native Korean-American families from Districts 2 and 24 in the past two years. Tally sheets completed by the participating schools indicate that the number of Korean-American children in these district schools is approximately 364. On the basis of positive returns to the study, it also appears that the average number of children per family has risen slightly since the 1974 survey. Therefore, it appears reasonable to estimate, on the basis of these figures, that the 15 participating schools actually served about 200 non-native Korean-American families at the time of the survey (fall 1977).

CONTACT PROCEDURE

It was not possible to obtain direct access to the names and addresses of parents of non-native Korean-American children in the participating schools since this would have violated local guidelines concerning the confidentiality of school records. Therefore, the following procedure was devised:

1) A Korean-language letter was prepared, describing the project and inviting the parent/recipient to participate.

2) The letter was accompanied by a form, which was to be returned to the project office, indicating whether or not the recipient wished to be contacted concerning participation.

3) All parents were asked to return the form, and those willing to discuss participation in the study were asked to supply their name, address, telephone number, name(s) of child(ren), and name(s) of teacher(s).

4) These materials were all enclosed in sealed, stamped envelopes and were supplied to each participating school in numbers sufficient to cover the anticipated number of parents to be contacted in the school.

5) School personnel addressed the letters and mailed them.

6) Letters and contact forms were stamped with code numbers, so that responses returned to the project office could be checked off against tally sheets for each school, thus determining the response rate for the schools.

7) About three weeks after the first mailing, the process was repeated with a follow-up mailing.

8) Positive responses received were followed up by the project interviewers, and those families that definitely agreed to be interviewed became subjects in the study. (Only three families that returned a positive contact form subsequently refused to be interviewed.)

RESPONSE RATE

From the total of 364 letters mailed, 141 responses were positive (38.7%) and 42 negative (11.5%). The 141 positive responses represented 108 families, since letters were mailed for each child on the school lists. It is not possible to determine the number of families represented by the negative responses. However, assuming a comparable family size (as shown by the positive responses), it is estimated that the negative responses represent approximately 32 families. If the ratio of positive responses to families is extrapolated to the entire universe of 364 children, it may be estimated that there are perhaps 270-280 non-native Korean-American families served by the participating schools. If this estimate is accepted, the response rates are as shown in Table II-1.

Table II-1 Contact Letter Response Rates of Chicago Parents

Response	Number of Families	% of Families
Positive	108	38.6
Negative	32*	11.4*
No response	140*	50.0*
Total	280*	100.0*

*Estimated, on the same basis as the positive responses.

It should be noted that the estimate of the number of families in the universe would be quite a bit smaller (200) if the estimate were based on extrapolated demographic data from earlier studies. Thus it is not possible to calculate the exact percentage of the universe represented by the positive responses to the contact letter. However, it is probably safe to say that the study sample represents between 40% and 50% of the families in the universe.

FIELD PERSONNEL

To expedite on-site data collection and give the project a positive presence in the target community, a field office was rented in the ethnic neighborhood in Chicago where the data collection would take place. Two persons were retained to provide field coordinatio and supervision: one handled overall coordination and record keeping, conducted liaison with the schools, and supervised and participated in teacher interviewing; the other performed contact and liaison with the participating parents, supervised and coordinated parent interviewing, and handled editing, quality control, and followup of the parent and child questionnaires, as well as participating in parent and child interviews.

Nine Korean-speaking interviewers were selected and attended two, six-hour training sessions covering both general survey techniques and specific techniques for administering the project questionnaire. A field manual was prepared jointly by the Principal Investigator and the Project Associates. Bilingual photo-identification cards were issued to the interviewers.

Of the nine parent/child interviewers, four had previous experience with a similar survey questionnaire, having worked with the Principal Investigator on the AAMHRC study mentioned earlier in this report. As noted above, one of these interviewers also edited and logged in the completed questionnaires.

The field coordinator and the Principal Investigator selected two additional interviewers to assist the field coordinator in conducting the teacher interviews.

PARENT/CHILD INTERVIEWS

The 105 sample families were contacted and interviewed during the months of March, April, and May 1978. Subsequently, six families had to be dropped from the sample because of difficulties matching the children with their teachers. In these instances the parents would identify a certain school in which their child was registered and a certain teacher with which their child had class. The school, however, had no record of a child registered with this name in their school or had no teacher employed who had the name identified by the parent. It is quite likely that the schools' unfamiliarity with Korean names and the families difficulties with English contributed to this problem.

Debriefing of the project interviewers showed that almost all of the parents were cooperative subjects. The parents frequently commented to the interviewers that they were glad to be interviewed because it gave them an opportunity to communicate to the schools their concerns and preferences with respect to their children's educational experience. As noted earlier, only three families that indicated a desire to be contacted subsequently refused to be interviewed.

Before interviewing began, there was some discussion between project personnel and members of the Chicago Korean-American community as to the appropriateness of giving a small gift to those participating in the study. The consensus of those consulted was that the most culturally appropriate gesture would be to give small presents to the children in a participating family. Therefore, interviewers were supplied with small gifts such as crayons and coloring books for the children. These items appeared to generate a great deal of good will, and not only because of the gift-giving gesture: in many cases the parents were interviewed after both had returned from a long day of work, and the gifts served to engage the children in quiet activity during the parent interview.

VERIFICATION OF PARENT INTERVIEWS

During the time period that interviews with parents were being conducted, a random sample of the interviews were verified by telephone contact. A bilingual project supervisor contacted 15% of the families interviewed to verify that the interviews had taken place. The supervisor also thanked the family for participating and requested their general reaction to the content of the interview and the courtesy of the interviewer. No irregularities in the interviewers' work were uncovered by the verification process.

TEACHER INTERVIEWS

The process of interviewing the teachers of participating children proved in some respects to be more complicated than was originally envisioned.

TIME CONSTRAINTS

In order to keep the disruption of school routine to a minimum, the teacher interviewers adopted the strategy of waiting until the returns of parent contact forms were virtually complete, thereby making it possible to conduct all of the teacher interviews in one or two visits to the school. This plan caused some difficulty because the Chicago schools were involved in an extended program of testing during much of April 1978, and some principals preferred not to have interviews conducted during this time. The plan that was finally adopted was to do as much interviewing as possible before the testing period began, and defer the rest until early May. In general, the teacher interviews took a relatively short time to conduct. Once they saw how little time was involved, most of the school principals were willing to have the teacher interviews conducted during the testing period.

"MAGNET" SCHOOLS

Another problem encountered was that some children were bused into or out of their district for bilingual programs, with the result that the teacher interviewed at the participating school might know the child only as a member of a homeroom, or only as a member of a bilingual class. Thus, some teachers were unable to supply certain types of observations about some children.

TEACHER INFORMATION NEEDS

Most teachers interviewed showed an active interest in the progress of the study. A comment heard many times was that it is extremely difficult for a classroom teacher to obtain accurate information about the culture of non-native children. Many teachers felt that having some basic information concerning the nature of the child's cultural background would make it easier for them to understand the child's behavior and would aid in developing classroom approaches and programs that might be of benefit to the non-native child.

It is important to note that the concern of the teachers extended well beyond the non-native Korean-American children who were the subject of the present study. In one school, for example, the teachers described their consternation at suddenly having to accommodate an influx of 15 Soviet Jewish children who had no knowledge of English. This type of phenomenon will probably become increasingly common as the effects of the 1965 amendments to the Immigration and Naturalization Law are felt. The consensus of the teachers was that basic information on the cultural background of non-native children would make it much easier for teachers to meet the educational needs of the children.

DATA FROM THE FIRST YEAR--TABULATION AND DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION

In the discussion that follows, the data from related questionnaire items are grouped on the basis of common subject matter. In the interest of rendering the discussion more compact, some areas of data are summarized in the text, rather than being presented in complete tabular forms.

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS

Although a total of 105 families participated in the Chicago phase of this study, it was necessary to exclude six families from the final tally because it proved impossible to locate and interview the children's teachers at the participating schools. There was therefore an active total of 99 cases in this phase of the study.

STATISTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Unless otherwise noted in the text or tables, all percentages are adjusted, i.e., calculated after removal of missing data. Therefore, total figures in some of the tables are less than sample size.

MAJOR FINDINGS

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

A capsule description of the study respondents would be: They are young, fairly well educated, and mostly employed full time in occupations that fall at the level of skilled labor or above. Most households have two or three children (generally between the ages of five and 14) and are housed in rented apartments or houses. The demographic characteristics will now be presented in more detail.

The parent respondents ranged in age from 29 to 60, with the ages grouped as shown in Table II-2. The largest concentration of respondents (85.2%) is between the ages of 31 and 45.

Table II-2 Ages of Chicago Parents

Age Group	Number of Parents	% of Parents
25-30	6	3.1
31-35	43	21.9
36-40	85	43.4
41-45	39	19.9
46-50	14	7.1
51-55	6	3.1
56-60	3	1.5
Total	196	100.0

As shown in Table II-3, the children of the respondents are mostly concentrated (79%) in the age range from 5 to 14. Actual ages of children in the respondent families ranged from 1 to 28 years.

Respondents were also asked to give the ages of any relatives living with the family. Only 10 relatives were living with the 99 families in the sample, and no family had more than two relatives in residence. Half of these relatives were between the ages of 57 and 70 and were probably grandparents who had come to the United States to join their children's families.

Table II-3 Ages of Children in Chicago Respondent Families

Age Group	Number of Children	% of Children
1-4	27	11.3
5-9	122	51.3
10-14	66	27.7
15-19	23	9.7
20 and older	13	5.5
Total	238	100.0

As shown in Table II-4, the respondents' households ranged in size from 2 to 9 persons, with the average falling between 4 and 5. The findings of household size, like those for median age and age of children, are quite similar to those reported by the Principal Investigator in an earlier survey in the Chicago area (Kim and Condon, 1975, pp. 24-29). This apparent demographic stability in the Chicago Korean-American population probably means that

Table II-4 Household Size of Chicago Respondent Families

Number of Persons in Family	Number of Families	% of Families
2	1	1.0
3	4	3.8
4	44	44.9
5	36	36.7
6	6	6.1
7	6	6.1
8	—	—
9	1	1.0
Total	98	100.0

the evident increase in this population is the result of continuing immigration, rather than increasing family size. In fact, as Table II-5 shows, most of the respondents (51%) have been in the United States for less than three years; only 21.4% have been U.S. residents for over six years. Further evidence that family size is relatively stable in the Chicago Korean-American community is that the children in the present sample seem to fall into slightly older age groups than was the case in the 1975 study.

Table II-5 Length of Residence in Chicago and in the United States

Length of Residence	*Chicago* Number of Families	% of Families	*U.S.A.* Number of Families	% of Families
1 day – 1 year	22	22.2	20	20.4
1.1 year – 3 years	33	33.3	30	30.6
3.1 years – 6 years	26	26.3	27	27.6
6 years and over	18	18.2	21	21.4
Total	99	100.0	98	100.0

Housing for the study sample was also similar to that in the 1975 survey: 65.1% rent apartments and 11.1% rent houses, while 14.1% own houses and 6.1% own an apartment (condominium). The only definite change from the 1975 figures is that somewhat more respondents now rent or own houses. This may be an indication of general economic success in the case of house ownership, while renting houses may be more dependent upon market supply, especially in inner-city areas such as the one where the study was conducted.

The sex ratio of the parent respondents was approximately even (97 male vs. 98 female), while the sex ratio of the children was normal (1:1.02, female to male). The study respondents had a total of 251 children, 127 male and 124 female.

Of 99 households reporting the marital status of the respondents, 96 were married couples with both spouses present, two were married with one spouse present, and one was a single-parent household with the parent being divorced. Given the nature of the sampling (for school age children), this is to be expected. The 1975 survey, mentioned above, found that over 88% of the randomly selected Korean-American sample were married with both spouses present, while the divorce rate was less than 1%, and about 2% were married with the spouse not present. In the case of the present study, one would expect single parents to be less likely to respond to the invitation to join the study since they are probably already under stress from other sources. Thus the marital status data in the present study appear reasonable.

Those families with preschool children were asked what sources of child care they used; the findings are shown in Table II-6. Compared to the results of the 1975 study, more of the respondents in the present study made use of daycare centers, while fewer depended on relatives, neighbors, or friends. This shift from private to public resources for child care may reflect the greater availability of such services at the present time, or it may indicate that the Chicago Korean-American community is becoming more acculturated.

Table II-6 Sources of Child Care Reported by Chicago Parents

Source	Number of Children	% of Children
Relative	4	13.3
Neighbor or friend	2	6.7
Daycare center	7	23.3
Respondent or spouse	12	40.0
Other	5	16.7
Total	30	100.0

The religious preferences of the respondents are shown in Table II-7. As was expected, a large majority are Protestants, a fact reflected in the great number of ethnic churches in the Chicago Korean-American community. The influence of the churches in community life may also be inferred from the fact that 65% of the organizational memberships reported by the respondents were in religious organizations (10% were in ethnic organizations, 4% in professional groups, and 22% in recreational clubs of various sorts). These findings for religious preference and church involvement are consistent with the results of the 1975 survey. Because of the high degree of church membership in the Korean-American community, ethnic churches and religious organizations should be considered an important contact point in planning and delivery of educational, health, and social services.

Table II-7 Chicago Families' Religious Preferences

Preference	Number of Families	% of Families
Protestant	69	71.9
Catholic	15	15.6
Buddhist	3	3.1
No preference	9	9.4
Total	96	100.0

As was noted at the beginning of this section, the educational level of the respondents was found to be relatively high. Table II-8 shows the highest educational levels attained in Korea, while Table II-9 shows education obtained by the respondents after coming to the United States. As the tables show, very few of the parents have not at least graduated from high school, and half of the mothers and more than two-thirds of the fathers are college graduates. Overall, about 10% of the respondents have had some sort of higher education in the United States. The high level of educational attainment in the respondent group may be expected to have an influence on their attitudes toward the educational experience of their children.

Table II-3 Chicago Parents' Education in Korea

	Father		Mother	
Highest Educational Level	N	%	N	%
Elementary school	—	—	2	2.0
Some high school	2	2.0	1	1.0
Some high school plus trade school	—	—	1	1.0
High school graduate	9	9.2	33	33.7
Trade school beyond high school	2	2.0	8	8.2
Some college	11	11.2	4	4.1
College graduate	63	64.3	49	50.0
Graduate study	10	10.2	—	—
Doctorate	1	1.0	—	—
Total	98	100.0	98	100.0

Table II-9 Chicago Parents' Education in the United States

	Father		Mother	
Highest Educational Level	N	%	N	%
No additional U.S. education	82	83.7	91	93.8
Some high school	—	—	1	1.0
High school graduate	—	—	—	—
Trade school beyond high school	1	1.0	1	1.0
Some college	1	1.0	2	2.1
College degree	2	2.0	—	—
Graduate study	10	10.2	2	2.1
Doctorate	2	2.0	—	—
Total	98	100.0	97	100.0

The parent respondents in the study are mostly employed full time in job categories at the level of skilled labor or above. As Table II-10 shows, the labor force participation of the mothers is quite high. By comparison, work force participation of majority culture women is much lower, about 55% versus 73.5% for the Chicago Korean-American women in the study (Smith, 1979). It is perhaps surprising that only two respondents reported that they were working more than one job, in view of the anecdotal information from Asian-American communities that suggests that a large number of persons hold multiple jobs. Our findings, which agree with the data from the 1975 survey, (Kim and Condon, 1975), may be an artifact of the self-selection process; that is, persons holding multiple jobs may be unlikely to participate in a study due to lack of time.

Table II-10 Chicago Parents' Employment Status

Employment Status	Father N	Father %	Mother N	Mother %
Full time	93	94.9	72	73.5
Part time	—	—	3	3.1
More than one job	2	2.0	—	—
Unable to work	2	2.0	2	2.0
Unemployed, looking for work	—	—	4	3.8
Unemployed, not looking for work	1	1.0	—	—
Homemaker	—	—	17	17.3
Total	98	100.0	98	100.0

The job level findings in the present study, shown in Table II-11, are more or less as expected, although there are some differences from previous data. Compared to the findings of the 1975 survey, the present sample contains somewhat fewer male proprietors (12.2% vs. 16.2% in 1975), but many more female proprietors (14.3% vs. 3.4% in 1975). While it is not possible to determine the exact nature of the businesses owned by the female proprietors, it may be speculated that the growth of the Korean-American community in Chicago is providing increased ethnic small business opportunities for Korean women.

Table II-11 Chicago Parents' Occupation or Job Title

Occupation/Job Title	Father N	Father %	Mother N	Mother %
Professional	12	12.2	2	2.0
Nurse, teacher	1	1.0	23	23.5
Managerial	3	3.1	1	1.0
Clerical	4	4.1	5	5.1
Proprietor	12	12.2	14	14.3
Skilled	36	36.7	2	2.0
Semi-skilled	18	18.4	19	19.4
Unskilled, service	9	9.2	10	9.6
None (or homemaker)	3	3.1	22	22.4
Total	98	100.0	98	100.0

Overall, the employment categories in the present study are slightly lower than in 1975. This does not necessarily indicate lack of success in the American job market; rather, it may be ascribable to patterns of immigration from Korea since the passage of the 1965 amendments to the Immigration and Naturalization Law. Both the priority system of the amended law and economic and political pressures in Korea would have tended to result initially in the immigration of disproportionately large numbers of professional class persons. After more than a decade of heavy immigration, the influx of persons emigrating from Korea may have settled into a more normal socioeconomic balance. It should also be remembered that the present study, like the 1975 survey, was conducted in an ethnic enclave of an urban area, while professional class immigrants have been observed to migrate to the suburbs as soon as they have achieved the requisite economic success. Thus the downward shift in job levels between 1975 and 1978 may reflect this exodus to the suburbs.

As in the 1975 survey, few respondents were found to hold managerial positions. In addition to suggesting possible discrimination, this finding is probably indicative of a low level of social assimilation, since achieving a managerial position in business usually depends upon membership--real or potential--in various "old boy networks." In the 1975 survey, only the Japanese citizen group was found to have any appreciable number of managers, and this may be due, in part, to the success of large, Japanese-owned businesses. In the case of the Koreans and most other Asian-American groups, few ethnically owned businesses are large enough to provide managerial opportunities for ethnic persons.

In assessing the employment condition of any recently arrived immigrant group an important consideration is the degree to which the members of the group have managed to transfer their skills and knowledge to the job market in the host country. Thus, it is of some interest to note the parents' response to the attitudinal items on the questionnaire that pertain to their perception of their job level and income.

Overall, 26.7% of the respondents feel that their incomes are not equal to those of comparable American workers; 37.6% do not feel that their incomes are commensurate with their educational levels; and 50.3% feel they are not employed in occupations commensurate with their educational level. Although these figures reflect only these respondents' perceptions of their employment situations, they appear to indicate some degree of underemployment and, possibly, downward mobility in the respondent group.

The respondents' self-evaluation of English fluency will be considered as a demographic characteristic for the purposes of this report because this characteristic is quite likely to be related to a number of other demographic indices, such as income, location of residence, and job level. Table II-12 shows the respondents' self-evaluation of their ability to speak, read, and write English.

Table II-12 Chicago Parents' Self-assessment of Their Ability to Speak, Read, and Write English

	Speaking				Reading				Writing			
	Father		Mother		Father		Mother		Father		Mother	
Fluency	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Fluent	5	5.2	7	7.2	9	9.4	7	7.2	11	11.5	6	6.2
Good	23	23.7	12	12.4	29	30.2	16	16.5	35	35.5	26	26.8
Fair	39	40.2	35	36.1	40	41.7	50	51.5	33	34.4	37	38.1
Poor	29	29.9	37	38.1	17	17.7	20	20.6	15	15.6	24	24.7
Not at all	1	1.0	6	6.2	1	1.0	4	4.1	2	2.1	4	4.1
Totals	97	100.0	97	100.0	96	100.0	97	100.0	96	100.0	97	100.0

While the overall fluency level of the mothers appears to be somewhat lower than that of the fathers, this is probably to be expected, given the slightly lower educational level and lower workforce participation of the women in the sample. It may be surprising that the respondents generally ranked themselves higher on writing than on reading or speaking English. This probably indicates that the respondents interpreted "writing" to mean the basic ability to write the letters of the Roman alphabet, rather than compositional ability. The lower rankings that the respondents gave themselves on speaking ability may reflect difficulties with idiomatic English, or may arise from the social embarrassment they suffer as a result of their pronunciation difficulties when communicating with native speakers of English.

In all categories of English ability, about two-thirds of the respondents felt that their English was at least "fair." Thus, it appears that English fluency (or, rather, lack of it) is not perceived as an immediate survival problem by this group. On the other hand, because of the social pressures in the Korean-American community toward preservation of the Korean language in most intra-ethnic discourse, progress toward increased English fluency may be somewhat slower than would be predicted on the basis of this group's educational achievement and job level. Because of the large number of well-educated Korean-American persons holding white collar or skilled jobs, this group may be in need of classes to develop fairly advanced English skills; only a fairly small proportion of the sample appears to need survival courses in basic English.

DEMOGRAPHIC SUMMARY

The Chicago respondents appear to be well educated and show a high employment rate. They are relatively young, have children who are mostly of grade school or junior high school age, and tend to live in rented housing. Their households are relatively small, and most appear to contain only a nuclear family; if other relatives are present, they are probably grandparents. Although some respondents speak little or no English, most have at least a moderate command of the language. Most of the respondents have arrived in the United States within the last six years, and for some the immigration experience may have caused some career difficulties: from a fourth to a half of the sample appear to feel that they are in some sense underemployed or underpaid.

PARENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

In the areas of both academic and social learning, the Chicago parents perceived American schools to be somewhat superior to Korean schools, although not by any strong majority (Tables II-13 and II-14). As the tables show, the parents were somewhat more certain of the superiority of the American schools in the academic area. This trend is reflected in the answers to several other items as well.

Table II-13 Chicago Parents' Judgments of Academic Learning in Korean and U.S. Schools

Judgment	Number of Families	% of Families
U.S. schools are better for academic learning	56	56.6
Korean schools are better for academic learning	28	28.3
Each has pros and cons	9	9.1
Don't know	6	6.1
Total	99	100.0

Table II-14 Chicago Parents' Judgments of Social Learning in Korean and U.S. Schools

Judgment	Number of Families	% of Families
U.S. schools are better for social learning	45	46.4
Korean schools are better for social learning	24	24.7
Each has pros and cons	8	8.2
Don't know	19	19.7
Other	1	1.0
Total	96	100.0

The reasons given by the parents for preferring one school system over another were quite varied and were not heavily concentrated in any one area of concern. Parents who considered the U.S. schools superior for academic learning tended to feel that the education offered here is more practical, that creativity is encouraged, and that there is more individual attention given to the children. Conversely, those parents who preferred the Korean system for academic learning felt that it offered more substantive education, that more was expected of the child, and that Korean schools were more strictly run. Thus, the responses may be dividing the parents along the lines of child-centered versus traditional attitudes toward the function of the school.

Parents who felt U.S. schools were superior for social learning ascribed this to an emphasis on getting along with others, the presence of more opportunities for social learning, and a stress on individual development. On the other hand, Korean schools were considered superior for social learning by some parents because all the children there came from the same background, because of a broad emphasis on social harmony in the school, and because of the emphasis on moral education and social conformity. It might be observed that these issues are strongly intertwined; certain moral and social aspects of education may in fact find less emphasis in American schools because of the traditional regard for individual freedom of choice and the diverse cultural backgrounds of the U.S. population.

In general, the parents expressed positive attitudes toward their children's academic progress in the American schools. About two-thirds were either satisfied or very satisfied, while one-fourth had mixed feelings and less than a tenth expressed dissatisfaction with their children's academic progress. This finding is further supported by the fact that 80.3% of the parents felt that their children's academic accomplishments were frequently or always reflected by their grades. If the parents have a definite complaint about the American schools, it is that the academic work should be more challenging; 60% of the parents felt that the schools should give more, and more difficult, homework. This may reflect expectations based on traditional Korean school practices.

The parents' responses to several other items also indicated that they take the schools' academic mission quite seriously. Most respondents (81.6%) said they frequently or always looked over the work their children brought home from school, and 77.1% of the children reported that one or both parents helped them with their homework. In addition, 84.6% of the fathers and 79.4% of the mothers agreed with the statement that it is the school's responsibility to take care of the child's academic problems; the respondents clearly want the role of the school to be more oriented toward academic learning than toward merely providing custodial care.

It should be pointed out, however, that in some contexts the respondent parents assigned considerable importance to the social, as well as academic, aspects of the schools. For instance, as shown in Table II-15, the parental expectation most often expressed was that the child should "get along with peers." This emphasis on the social aspects of the school experience was also reflected in the reasons the parents gave for why the child liked or did not like school (Table II-16). The child's friends were the most frequently mentioned positive factor in the school experience, while the presence of bullying children and lack of friends, taken together, were more important than any other negative factor except language difficulties. Likewise, the parents reported that the most frequent topic of the children's conversation upon returning from school was other children, although school subjects were mentioned nearly as often (Table II-17). These findings suggest that the parents, and their children, consider the social aspect of the school experience to be very important.

Table II-15 Chicago Parents' Expectations of Their Child's School Behavior

Expectation	Number of Responses	% of Responses
Paying attention to teacher	25	14.5
Obeying teacher	19	11.0
Studying hard	37	21.4
Getting good grades	16	9.3
Getting along with peers	51	29.5
No expectations	3	1.7
Other	22	12.7
Total*	173	100.0

*Parents could give as many responses as they wished. Therefore, total responses do not correspond to the sample size.

Table II-18 shows the parents' perception of the problems encountered by the children during the preceding academic year, while Table II-19 shows the children's perception of their own difficulties at school. Both parents and children perceive some difficulties in the area of reading, presumably because English is a second language for most of the children. However, the parents' perception of the children's difficulties with spoken English is not reflected in the children's own responses. This may result because the child receives much explicit feedback with respect to his reading performance in the form of grades, while

Table II-16 Reasons Given by Chicago Parents for Their Child's Attitude Toward School

Reason	Positive N	Positive %	Negative N	Negative %
Teacher	14	13.5	3	2.9
School activities	11	10.6	—	—
School subjects	23	22.1	1	1.0
Friends	29	27.9	2	1.9
Other				
Child is sociable	11	10.6	—	—
Child is confident	12	11.5	—	—
Too much homework	—	—	1	1.0
Bullying children	—	—	3	2.9
Language problem	—	—	8	7.7
Other (neutral)			N = 18	
Don't know (neutral)			N = 3	

*The 104 respondents could give as many responses as they wished. The percentages are of the total number of respondents in each group.

Table II-17 Topics Chicago Children Talk About Upon Returning from School

Topic	Number of Responses	% of Responses
Teacher	38	21.8
School subjects	45	25.9
School activities	27	15.5
Other children	50	28.7
No particular topic	2	1.2
Other	12	6.9
Total*	174	100.0

*Respondents could give as many repsonses as they wish. Therefore total responses do not correspond to sample size.

Table II-18 Chicago Parents' Perception of Problems Encountered by Their Child During the Past School Year

Problem	Number of Responses	% of Respondents	% of Responses
Speaking English	50	48.1	25.6
Reading English	41	39.4	21.0
Trouble with academic work because of English	32	30.8	16.4
Problems with the teacher	18	17.3	9.2
Problems with classmates	32	30.8	16.4
No problems	18	17.3	9.2
Other	4	3.8	2.1
Total*	195	—	100.0
Total Respondents = 104			

*Respondents could give as many responses as they wished. Therefore, total responses do not correspond to sample size.

Table II-19 Most Difficult Things for Chicago Children to Do in U.S. Schools

Activity	Number of Children	% of Children
Math	6	6.3
English (reading)	20	21.1
Spelling	12	12.6
Science	7	7.4
Social studies	11	11.6
Socializing	5	5.3
Nothing is hard	15	15.8
Don't know	3	3.2
Other	16	16.8
Total	95	100.0

the child's spoken English is usually evaluated--if at all--only in informal, social situations.

The parents' perceptions of their children's school problems appear to be heavily weighted toward difficulties connected with lack of English proficiency. Since the children perceive a greater variety of difficulties, it is possible that the parents are projecting their own problems with English onto their children. For example, when the child reports difficulty with an academic subject or experiences problems with socialization, there may be a tendency for the parents to ascribe the difficulty to lack of English proficiency. It is not possible to determine whether the parents are drawing this conclusion accurately, but it should be noted that the children's teachers found the English skills of most of the study children to be at least adequate: 70.7% felt the child had only a few problems or none at all, while 14.1% felt the child had definite problems, and 15.2% felt the child was "coping."

The parents, the child, and the teacher often have differing perceptions and definitions of the difficulty (or lack of difficulty) the child is experiencing in school. These differences may only be reflecting the age, culture, and personality differences of the parents, child, and teacher. That the child is so much younger than either the parents or the teacher is an obvious variable in the different awarenesses. Similarly, the cultural backgrounds of the participants will tend to color their perceptions--not as a matter of prejudice, but simply as distinct points of view. And finally, the personalities of the individuals as a factor separate from age and culture, affect how they perceive the success of the child in school. Furthermore these variables change through the normal processes of maturation and acculturation: children get older and adults and children begin through interaction to understand each other's culture better. Hence, one must temper any generalizations conerning the Korean-American community with an understanding of the roles other variables might play in defining the situation.

Table II-20 What Chicago Children Like Best in School

Activity	Number of Children	% of Children
Play period	6	6.3
Sports/gym	9	9.5
Math	36	37.9
English (reading)	17	17.9
Music	1	1.1
Spelling	4	4.2
Arts/crafts	13	13.7
Science	4	4.2
Other	5	5.3
Total	95	100.0

In addition to being asked about difficulties they encountered in school, the children were asked what they liked and disliked the most about school. The results are shown in Tables II-20 and II-21. Two findings are of interest: first, two academic subjects (math

Table II-21 What Chicago Children Dislike About School

Activity	Number of Children	% of Children
Play period	2	2.1
Sports/gym	4	4.1
Math	3	3.1
English	14	14.4
Music	3	3.1
Spelling	6	6.2
Arts/crafts	4	4.1
Science	4	4.1
Social studies	2	2.1
Bullying children/screaming teachers	12	12.4
Don't know	6	6.2
Nothing child dislikes	27	27.8
Other	10	10.3
Total	97	100.0

and reading) were the best liked activities, and second, "children who bully" shows up with some consistency as an aspect of school that the children dislike. That "reading English" is disliked by some children, although others are quite fond of this activity, may indicate a wide range of reading ability within the group, or it may indicate a considerable variance in the presentation and teaching of this subject from one class and school to another. A combination of these and other factors is also possible: the potential for individual and class differences would be great even in nonethnic schools.

Overall, the responses of the parents do not show any rigid pattern of expectation or experience with respect to the public schools. This may be another indication that the effects of the individual classroom situation are important in determining the nature of the child's school experience. Fairly high academic expectations on the part of the parents are balanced by evidence that indicates a strong belief in the importance of the social aspects of the school experience. The children, on the other hand, show a wide range of preferences for subjects and activities in school.

CHILDREN'S ATTITUDES

The child questionnaire used in this study did not attempt to cover attitudinal areas directly, but a number of items have attitudinal components that reflect cultural preferences--or cultural realities--in the children's lives. Overall, the preferences seemed to be weighted toward the Korean end of the spectrum. For instance, when asked to name their favorite food, 45.5% named a Korean item, 27.3 named an American item, and an equal number named items from both cultures. This may seem surprising to Korean-American parents, who frequently complain that their children want nothing but hamburgers. Likewise, when asked where they would most like to go, 43.3% of the children named places in Korea; this was by far the largest category of responses and may indicate some underlying cultural identification.

Nearly 97% of the children said their parents spoke either Korean (64.6%) or a combination of Korean and a small amount of English (32.3%) to them at home. Likewise, 72.1% of the fathers and 79.4 of the mothers reported that they always, or nearly always, spoke Korean to their children at home. This should be compared with the report of the teachers that only 14.1% of the children had severe problems with English, while 41.4% had no problems whatsoever, and the remainder were doing reasonable well. This suggests that most of the child's command of English comes about from the school experience. However, additional analyses in the second computer runs suggest that the parents' exclusive use of Korean has some bearing on the children's language proficiency and school performance: children whose parents speak only Korean to them at home are more likely to have only Korean playmates and to be less enthusiastic about their parents' visits to school.

Tables II-22 and II-23 detail the nationalities of the children's best friends at school and of their playmates. It is difficult to assess whether the children have an inordinate concentration of their friendships among other Korean children. However, it should

Table II-22 Nationality of Best Friends at School for Chicago Children

Nationality	Number of Children	% of Children
Korean	28	28.3
American	43	43.4
Both	15	15.2
Other minority group	8	8.1
Has no "best friend"	5	5.1
Total	99	100.0

Table II-23 Nationality of Playmates after School for Chicago Children

Nationality	Number of Children	% of Children
Korean only	37	38.5
American only	20	20.8
Korean and American	31	32.3
Other minority groups	2	2.1
No playmates	6	6.3
Total	96	100.0

be noted that few of the study schools contained more than 5% of Korean-American children. Thus, it can at least be stated that the proportion of Korean best friends was much greater than the proportion of Korean-American children present.

It is estimated that the total Korean population of greater Chicago is less than 40,000, but, as noted earlier, this population tends to be concentrated in specific areas of the city. The study site (School Districts 2 and 24) is one such area, and a review of the respondents' addresses reveals that there are certain blocks and large apartment complexes that contain large numbers of Korean-American families. This tendency toward residential concentration probably explains why the children have more Korean playmates at home than Korean best friends at school.

Since somewhere around half of the best friends and playmates are non-Koreans, the children appear to be doing some social mixing. Parental attitudes toward the socializing with American children are mixed, but are generally favorable: while 93.8% of the fathers and 88.6% of the mothers said they would urge their children to accept an invitation to play with an American classmate, 24.8% of the fathers and 16.5% of the mothers said they would not approve of their children inviting American children to their homes to play. The relatively large neutral response categories in this latter item (14.4% for fathers and 23.7% for mothers) may also reflect reluctance. This reluctance may result from the parents' feeling that their homes are cramped or shabby--some parents said they did not want Americans to see the poor conditions under which they lived. The parents may also be embarrassed about the strong cooking smells in their homes, especially from Kimchee, a popular form of pickled cabbage. Indeed, some respondents were so self-conscious about their living quarters that they even asked to be interviewed in restaurants and other public places.

THE CHILDREN'S SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

Some items in the child questionnaire that relate to school experiences, or that bear upon the parents' responses, are discussed in the section on the results of the parent questionnaire. In the present section, we shall attempt to provide an overview of the children's perception of their school experience and of how this experience relates to their home life.

In general, the children seem to be having a positive school experience. According to responses from the parents and teachers, the children are mostly progressing well academically and socially, and about 80.7% of the children were said by their parents to be "happy" or "enthusiastic" about school. On the other hand, there are several areas of concern where the relationship of school, home, and child could be improved.

Discrimination. About 30% of both parents and children reported that the child had encountered discrimination at school in the form of harassment or name-calling. Almost all of this behavior was by other children, but in two cases the parents reported that the harassment or name-calling had come from school personnel. It is of course difficult to determine how much of this discriminatory behavior is racially directed, although most name-calling is quite clearly in this category: of the 34 children who said that they had social trouble at school because they were Korean, 7 (20.6%) said this was because other children called them Chinese--apparently in a derogatory manner. On the other hand, some of what is perceived as discriminatory behavior may only be general rowdiness, since 10.3% of the child sample named "children who bully" as the thing they disliked most about school.

The children, and their parents, showed a wide variety of responses to the discrimination encountered by the children. There were many types of passive response, but also some tendency--especially among the children--to choose fighting back. In one family, the parents had even gone so far as to enroll their child in karate lessons for this purpose. Another interesting response category is that of telling the child to respond by doing better in school. While it is questionable to assume that discrimination will evaporate in the face of proven competence, this response probably does at least indicate the importance that the respondent parents assign to academic excellence.

Table II-24 Chicago Children's Report of Discrimination at School

Is picked on or called bad names	Number of Children	% of Children
Yes	32	32.7
No	65	66.3
Didn't know	1	1.0
Total	98	100.0

Table II-25 Chicago Children's Report of Discrimination at School, as Reported by Parents

Report	Number of Reports	% of Reports
No discrimination reported	69	69.7
Reports discrimination by other children	28	28.3
Reports discrimination by adults	2	2.0
Total	99	100.0

English Ability. Although the teachers did not generally perceive English fluency to be a major problem for most of the children in the study, there is other evidence that the children themselves may be encountering many minor, but pervasive, difficulties that could be linked to lack of English proficiency. For example, nearly half of the children (48.5%) said they sometimes had trouble understanding the teacher. Also, as noted in the section on the teachers' responses, the teachers generally reported the Korean children to be having the greatest academic difficulties in areas that appear to be heavily language based. This finding agrees with the children's perception of what is most difficult for them in American schools: reading (21.1%), spelling (12.6%), and social studies (11.6%) are highest on the list. Finally, "language" was most frequently cited by the children as the cause of social difficulties arising from their ethnicity.

As noted earlier, for many of the children in the sample, the primary experience with English occurs during school hours. Almost two-thirds of the children said they spoke only Korean to their parents, while almost all the others used a combination of Korean and a small amount of English. In the case of the parents, 78.5% said they always or nearly always spoke Korean to their children. Finally, about half of the children's playmates were Korean, perhaps as a result of the concentration of recently arrived Korean families in certain blocks and neighborhoods. Thus, the Korean child may have little strong exposure to English except in school, and even at school one should note that 28.3% of the children reported that their best friends were Korean. Because of these strong ethnic language influences, it may not be possible to assume that non-native Korean-American children will "pick up" English adequately on the basis of their school experience alone.

Ethnicity. The retention of Korean as the language of the home is one indication that the children in the sample are not yet highly Americanized; other evidence also supports this conclusion. For example, as noted above, the children's food preferences and travel wishes remain mostly Korean. In addition, the children and their parents do not appear to be taking rapid steps toward anglicizing the children's given names: approximately one-third are known by the unmodified Korean name, one-third have partially anglicized the given name, and one-third are known by an English name. For example, an unmodified Korean first name is Chul Soo. Partially anglicized it might be Chul or Soo alone; completely anglicized it could be John, or any other name having no linguistic relationship at all to the Korean. Retention of ethnic given names has been cited as an indicator of acceptance and pride concerning one's ethnicity (Silvers, 1965; Kent, 1953).

On the basis of the language and ethnicity evidence, it would appear that the non-native Korean-American children in the sample are headed toward a condition of biculturality, rather than wholesale assimilation. It should be remembered, of course, that most of these children have been in America for less than six years, and many for three years or less; presumably, the process of Americanization will continue and may even accelerate with time. However, it seems likely that biculturality will remain an option for this group, and this should surely be taken into account in school program planning.

Table II-26 Chicago Parents' Feelings About Their Child's Academic Progress

Feeling	Number of Parents	% of Parents
Very satisfied	21	22.3
Satisfied	41	43.6
Both satisfied and dissatisfied	23	24.5
Somewhat dissatisfied	7	7.4
Very dissatisfied	2	2.1
Total	94	100.0

Table II-27 Chicago Children's Perceptions of Whether They Are Meeting Expectations in School Work

Perception	Number of Children	% of Children
Yes, meeting expectations	52	52.5
No, not meeting expectations	28	28.3
Neutral	1	1.0
Did not know	18	18.2
Total	99	100.0

Expectations. Both the children and their parents were asked about the degree to which the children were satisfying the parents' expectations in the area of academic achievement, with results as shown in Tables II-26 and II-27. It may be of some importance that, although only 9.5% of the parents were clearly dissatisfied with their children's progress, 28.3% of the children felt that they were not meeting their parents' expectations in this area. Although this discrepancy did not reach statistical significance, it may suggest that communication between parent and child is somewhat incomplete on this matter. One cause of this may be the Korean child-rearing practice of inspiring academic performance by means of negative feedback--by calling attention to failures and deficiencies and voicing the expectation that they will be corrected. Whatever the merits or drawbacks of this method it would seem to be inappropriate in the American situation, where the children may be simultaneously receiving mostly positive feedback from their teachers. Further research should be conducted to determine the degree of such dissonance and to determine what effect, if any, it has on the child's self-image and anxiety level.

At the level of individual types of learning, the parents' expectations of their children are split between academic and social subjects, with the weighting being in favor of the academic ones (Table II-28).

Table II-28 What Chicago Parents Expect Children to Learn in School

Subject	Number of Parents	% of Parents
English	38	38.8
Math	5	5.1
Science	2	2.0
Social skills	2	2.0
Overall personality development	15	15.3
All aspects	14	14.3
Adjustment to society	4	4.1
Morals	2	2.0
Independence	1	1.0
Don't know	8	8.2
Other	7	7.1
Total	98	100.0

English is at the head of the list of parental expectations. At the same time, English-dependent subjects are the most difficult for the children. Indeed, the parental concern for their children's English knowledge and skills may come from their realization that English is critical for academic achievement. However, to minimize unnecessary pressure on the children, it will probably be especially important for the parents to maintain realistic expectations with respect to their children's mastery of English--and their scholastic success in subjects heavily dependent on English proficiency.

Table II-29 Career Aspirations of Chicago Children

Career Aspiration	Number of Children	% of Children
MD/lawyer	25	27.5
Scientist	11	12.1
Other professional person	12	13.2
Minister	1	1.1
Athlete/actor	5	5.5
Teacher/professor	13	14.3
Policeman/fireman	12	13.2
Politician	2	2.2
Don't know	10	11.0
Total	91	100.0

Table II-30 How Chicago Children Perceive Their Parents' Career Aspirations for Them

Perceived Career Aspiration	Number of Children	% of Children
MD/lawyer	36	37.5
Scientist	6	6.3
Other professional careers	8	8.3
Minister	—	—
Athlete/actor	—	—
Teacher/professor	3	3.1
Politician	1	1.0
Other	2	2.1
Don't know	40	41.7
Total	96	100.0

Table II-31 Chicago Parents' Career Aspirations for Their Children

Career Aspiration	Number of Parents	% of Parents
MD/lawyer	36	44.4
Scientist	7	8.6
Other professional careers	12	14.8
Minister	3	3.7
Housewife	3	3.7
Other*	20	20.2
Don't know, no aspiration	18	18.2
Total	99	100.0

*Includes nonspecific aspirations such as "a useful citizen," "whatever s/he wants to be," etc.

Aspirations. Tables II-29, II-30, and II-31 present, respectively, the children's career aspirations, the children's perception of what their parents want them to be when they grow up, and, finally, the parents' career aspirations for their children.

Although the responses of both children and parents appear to be concentrated in the area of professional level of employment, this does not necessarily indicate that individual children and their parents are in agreement. Analyses of variance run on the combined data from Chicago and Los Angeles suggest varying degrees of agreement and disagreement among parents and children on these three measures. A little over half (56.7%) of the children named career aspirations that were the same as those expressed for them by their parents. In a larger proportion of cases (81.5%), the children's reports of what they thought their parents wanted them to be were in agreement with the parents' responses. This suggests that the parents are making their career aspirations for their children explicitly known, but that not all children hold the same aspirations for themselves. Of those children who did express the same aspirations as their parents, there is of course no way to tell whether the children are simply mirroring parental opinion, or are actually drawn to the career. However, the clarity with which the children perceive their parents' aspirations for them suggests that in at least some cases the children are shaping their own career aspirations in accordance with parental pressures, or at least as a result of parental wishes. In some instances, this may develop into a source of conflict between parent and child.

It should also be noted that the career aspirations of the children in the sample are markedly different from those usually expressed by American children. In this comparison, the data on American children are taken from the General Mills *American Family Report*, cited earlier.

While both groups tend heavily toward professional careers, the American children are even more likely to aspire to be athletes or entertainment stars. These two aspirations are low on the list for Korean-American children, probably because athletes and entertainers rank very low on the status scale in their home culture. Two other points of comparison are that the Korean children are much more likely to be attracted to scientific careers, and less likely to aspire to the perennial dream careers of American childhood: policeman and fireman. Finally, not a single girl in the Chicago Korean-American sample aspired to be a mother or housewife, while fully 23% of the girls in the General Mills survey had these aspirations. This may reflect the high labor force participation of the mothers in the study, as well as the large number of nurses among the mothers. In any case, the children's aspirations, taken together with the workforce participation of their mothers, should serve to explode the myth that all Asian women are homebound.

HOME-SCHOOL INTERACTION

It has already been noted that the respondent parents seem to take an active interest in their children's school activities: most parents regularly look over their child's school papers, and many children reported that their parents helped them with their homework. Most of the children (93.9%) also reported that one or both parents had visited school. The child questionnaire did not attempt to determine the frequency with which these visits took place. Apparently these visits were casual, since the teachers reported only one instance in which a parent had come to class at the teacher's request to make a presentation on Korean culture, and less than 20% of the parents were reported by the teachers to have contacted the school.

In general, the amount of contact between school and parents appeared to be moderate, although it would be necessary to collect comparable data on the extent of such contacts for parents in the majority culture before making any firm judgments on the extent of contact. Nineteen families (19.2%) in the sample reported that they had been contacted by their child's teacher. (These contacts did not include regular parent-teacher conferences.) The reasons for these contacts are shown in Table II-32. It is of some interest that the teachers reported more instances of contact with the parents than were reported by the parents. The teachers reported having contacted 32 families, and had contacted an additional 39 at parent-teacher conferences; only 27 families had not been contacted at all. In addition, the teachers reported that 19 families had taken the initiative in making a contact with the teacher. "Contact" was not defined or limited for the study respondents; therefore, it presumably includes various types of informal contact of notes and letters and special meetings between parents and teacher. The questionnaire did, however, ask the respondent to distinguish these contacts from regular parent-teacher conferences. The reasons given for the teachers' contact with the parents are of some interest, since they may reflect the types of problems experienced by the Korean-American child in the public school classroom. As Table II-32 shows, "poor school work" was not the major reason for these contacts; more contacts were in fact made to report good school work. However, the two categories, "child was not listening to teacher" and "child had difficulty in communicating," together account for over a third of the contacts by the teachers. It is reasonable to suppose that these two categories reflect the children's difficulties in understanding and speaking English. "Poor school work" may also, of course, be related to English proficiency to some degree.

Table II-32 Reasons Given by Chicago Parents for Contact by Their Child's Teacher

Reason	Number of Responses	% of Responses
Child was not listening to teacher	3	15.8
Poor school work	2	10.5
Child had difficulty in communicating	4	21.1
Good school work	3	15.8
Other	7	36.8
Total	19	100.0

It is sometimes observed by school personnel that Korean-American family contacts with the school are made by an older sibling, a relative, or an ethnic community member outside the family, rather than by the child's parents. This informal observation found little confirmation in the data. In over 95% of the cases, contact with the schools had been made by the father, the mother, or both parents together. In a single case an older sibling was reported to be the person who made contact, and other persons were named in three other cases.

Nevertheless, it is apparently true that parents who are recently arrived in the United States, or who possess very limited English skills, may at times call upon a more acculturated member of the ethnic community to contact the school. It may therefore be advisable for the schools to contact these ethnic community members--who are often ministers of ethnic churches--and provide them with informational materials, such as phone numbers, addresses, and office hours of school personnel, which might facilitate school-parent contacts. If it were known in the ethnic community that these community members had such contact information, then parents might be encouraged to make school contacts that would otherwise be difficult for them to accomplish.

If the parents in the study do not frequently contact their children's schools, this is not necessarily an indication that their children have no problems with school. A total of 64 families (66.7%) reported that their children had encountered problems in school but, as Table II-33 shows, the responses to these problems rarely involved school contact. The most usual response was to talk with the child, or to provide some kind of tutoring at home.

Table II-33 Action Taken by Chicago Parents to Help Solve Their Child's Problems at School*

Action	Number of Responses	% of Families Responding	% of Responses
Talked to teacher	12	18.8	14.8
Tutored the child	19	29.7	23.5
Talked with the child	12	18.8	14.8
Still thinking of what to do	10	15.6	12.4
Did nothing	21	32.8	25.9
Other	7	10.9	8.6
Total	81**	–	100.0

*The 64 families reporting specific problems were asked this question.
**This question was asked only of those parents who reported problems; respondents could give as many responses as they wished.

While this tendency may reflect difficulties or reluctance in contacting the child's teacher, it is also in accord with certain Korean cultural traits, which emphasize self-reliance in problem solving (Kim and Condon, 1975).

A total of 38 parent respondents reported that they had difficulty in talking with school personnel; all of these respondents named "language problems" as a cause of this difficulty. Only one respondent also reported that it was hard to contact the school. It should be noted that lack of English proficiency may have a two-fold effect here: in addition to causing direct communication problems it may reinforce culturally-based reluctance to seek outside assistance in solving problems.

SUMMARY: PARENTS' VIEW OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC SCHOOL

Overall, the Korean-American parents in the present study had positive views of the educational situation in which their children find themselves. They see the American schools as generally, though not overwhelmingly, superior to Korean schools; in most cases they are satisfied with their children's academic and social progress and they feel that their children's grades usually reflect their true level of achievement.

Those problem areas that may be inferred from the parents' responses may be described as follows:

1) Academic rigor. The parents appear to feel that the American schools could be more academically rigorous, especially with regard to giving more, and more difficult, homework. The parents obviously expect the school to fulfill a serious academic mission.

2) Social difficulties. In both the parent and child responses there appeared to be some concern with bullying and discrimination on the part of other children at school. For example, half of the children reported social difficulties arising from their use of the Korean language, and a fifth said that other children called them Chinese in a derogatory manner. The parents evinced a surprisingly high level of concern on a number of items related to social and socialization aspects of schooling, perhaps reflecting the Korean cultural heritage of close and personally-based social interrelationships.

3) School-home communication. There was a certain amount of contact from school to home, especially as reported by the teachers. However, there are some indications that the existing level of communication may not be adequate. For example, those parents who reported that their children had had problems at school usually had attempted to solve these problems at home by working with the child. There were few attempts to contact, consult, or work with the teacher in solving the child's problems. In part, this may reflect Korean preferences for self-reliant problem solving strategies, but the parents' lack of English proficiency (either real or imagined) and their unfamiliarity with the American school system are probably also factors.

The existing level of school-home communication should be judged in the light of the parents' expectations of their children and of their view of the mission of the schools. It is clear that the parents expect the schools to take their academic mission seriously and to provide broad socialization experiences to the child. In addition, the parents have high academic and social expectations of their children. Therefore, the real question may be whether the existing level of communication and cooperation between school and home can satisfy these rather high standards. That most parents in the study opted for home-based solutions to school-based problems may be an indication that this is an area that needs attention.

CULTURAL CONFLICT AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

A number of items in the three questionnaires used in the study were devoted to probing the area of cultural conflict between parent and child, especially with respect to the child's school experience. In one open-ended question, the parents were asked directly whether or not the child's school experience caused conflict with the parents; the results are shown in Table II-34. Overall, 21.5% of the parent respondents reported some conflict they identified as being caused by the school experience, while 78.5% reported no conflict. However, it should be noted that the parents quite uniformly phrased their replies to convey their feeling that they considered it only a matter of time before such conflict would occur.

Table II-34 Chicago Parents' Perceptions of Whether or Not Their Child's School Experience Has Caused Cultural Conflict with Parents

Response	Number of Parents	% of Parents
No conflict perceived or expected	54	55.1
Not yet, but expect it	16	19.4
Not yet, but worried about it	7	7.1
Conflict perceived	20	20.4
Other	1	1.0
Total	98	100.0

Analysis of the data indicates that there is some relationship between length of residence in the United States and the perception of cultural conflict. Overall, 18 out of 19 families who had resided in the United States for less than a year reported no conflict. In part, the lack of conflict reported in the first year may result from the parents' preoccupation with immediate survival problems (learning English and mastering a whole new way of living in a new cultural context) to the exclusion of all other concerns. This speculation is supported by the correlation of lack of perceived conflict with low English proficiency as measured by several different items on the questionnaire. In addition, it is likely that a time effect would exist in the development of parent-child conflict because it takes a certain amount of time for the child to begin to be acculturated by the public school experience.

The problem reported by the parents cover several areas, with no large concentration in any one category. However, almost all of the problems do appear to have a cultural base. Selfishness, disobedience, and language-based conflict seem clearly to have roots in the acculturation of the child, a process in which the school plays a major role. What is perceived by the parent as selfishness may indeed be the beginning of the child's articulation of his rights. Language conflicts arise because the vertical role relationships in Korean society are not expressed in English, and, at least unconsciously, most Korean parents wish to retain these role relationships through the use of Korean. At the same time though, they may have strong expectations for their children's mastery of English. A few other responses center on the parents; for example, they sometimes feel ambivalent about the child's acculturation.

A number of other items on the parent and child questionnaires were intended to provide indirect information on cultural attitudes and preferences of the respondents, on the assumption that differences between parents and children on such measures may be an indication of actual or potential cultural conflict. Because of the inherent limitations involved in surveying children, the parent data are, of course, much richer in attitudinal materials. Nonetheless, some comparisons and observations can be made.

MAINTAINING AND DISCARDING CULTURAL TRAITS

Respondent parents were asked to tell which of selected Korean cultural traits they would like to see their children maintain or discard, and which of selected American cultural traits they would like to see them adopt or avoid. In addition, some of the attitudinal scales in the questionnaire give strong indirect evidence for retention or rejection of various cultural traits. Tables II-35 and II-36 give the parent responses to items concerning retention/rejection of Korean and adopting/avoidance of American cultural traits.

Table II-35 Chicago Parents' Preference for Their Children Maintaining or Discarding Certain Korean Cultural Traits

Korean Cultural Trait	Maintain N	Maintain %	Neutral N	Neutral %	Discard N	Discard %
Extensive use of Korean language	98	98.9	1	1.0	—	—
Obedience to elders	92	92.9	3	3.0	4	4.0
Respect for authority	77	77.8	3	3.0	19	19.2
Politeness in social situations	98	98.9	1	1.0	—	—
Self-sacrifice	59	59.6	8	8.1	32	32.3
Modesty about one's accomplishments	86	86.9	2	2.0	9	9.1
Maintaining face	42	42.4	5	5.1	52	52.5
Emphasis on extended family	39	39.4	4	4.0	52	52.5
Respect for parents	8	—	—	—	—	—
Celebrating Korean holidays*	1	—	—	—	—	—
Other*	4	—	—	—	—	—

*These items were not listed in the questionnaire, but were volunteered by parents. Because of the small numbers, no percentages have been calculated.

Table II-36 Chicago Parents' Preference for Their Children Adopting or Avoiding Certain American Cultural Traits

American Cultural Trait	Adopt N	Adopt %	Neutral N	Neutral %	Avoid N	Avoid %
Speak English exclusively	18	18.4	1	1.0	79	80.6
Self-reliance in problem solving	89	90.8	1	1.0	8	8.2
Social assertiveness	78	79.6	9	9.2	11	11.2
Being more open about thoughts and feelings	95	96.9	2	2.0	1	1.0
Develop more individuality	96	98.0	—	—	2	2.0
Emphasize nuclear family	52	53.1	6	6.1	38	38.8
Meet problems head-on*	3	—	—	—	4	—
Respect rights of children*	1	—	—	—	—	—
Respect rights of others*	3	—	—	—	—	—
Excessive contact with opposite sex*	3	—	—	—	—	—
Loud music*	—	—	—	—	1	—

*These items were not listed in the questionnaire, but were volunteered by parents. Because of the small numbers, no percentages have been calculated.

As both tables show, the parents have a strong preference for continued, extensive use of the Korean language; this finding accords well with informal observations in Korean-American communities. Some of the parents (18.4%) also said they wanted their children to speak only English, which would seem to be a contradiction since 99% favored their children continuing to make extensive use of Korean. This group of respondents may have been making an unconscious distinction between language use in ethnic contexts and in contacts with the majority culture. Since about 80% of the parents were consistent on these two items the consensus seems to be that, ideally, the children should become bilingual, retaining Korean for use with ethnic persons and mastering English for interaction with the majority culture.

It is of some interest that the parents were heavily in favor of their children adopting increased self-reliance, assertiveness, openness, and individuality. The parents may be perceiving these qualities as positive assets in dealing with life in America, or it may indicate that they have become sufficiently acculturated to perceive positive semantic loadings on these cultural traits. At the same time, most of the parents favored having their children maintain the Korean cultural traits shown in Table II-35. Only "maintaining face" and "extended family orientation" were chosen for discarding by over half of the parents, while a third favored discarding "self-sacrifice." As in the case of language preference, some of the preferred items from the Korean and American trait lists are incompatible. For example, it is possible to be polite, modest, and assertive, but the interrelations of these traits are quite complex; openness and face-saving, likewise, may be delicately balanced against one another.

These apparent contradictions in language and trait preferences may have important implications for future parent-child relations in this group. At first glance, these apparent contradictions would seem to be a source of potential difficulty in parenting: if the meaning of the contradictions is that the parents are themselves unclear about how they want their children to adapt to American culture, then this may mean that the parents will have difficulty in transmitting the necessarily clear normative signals to their children concerning the children's behavior. However, a second interpretation is possible; that is, that the parents' strong preferences for two sets of cultural traits may indicate they really desire their children to develop a bicultural orientation toward life in America. It is not at all clear whether or not the parents can succeed in conveying this bicultural orientation to their children, but the parents' positive perception of the two sets of traits could serve as the basis for such an orientation.

PARENTS' ATTITUDES

The parents' bicultural expectations are shown in their responses to various attitudinal items. For example, 93.9% of the fathers and 96.9% of the mothers favored teaching their children about their Korean cultural heritage for the benefit of the children's self-identity. In addition, 70.9% of the fathers and 54.6% of the mothers believed that the public schools should help their children become more American. (Most of the remaining responses on this item were merely neutral, rather than negative.) Operationally, this situation could either create cultural conflict or be an effective base for biculturality. The child could end up with a contradictory set of expectations, one from the home and one from the school. Or, with the help of the school and the parents, the child might develop an integrated set of values that will allow her/him to function effectively in both cultures.

In any case, this biculturality is not easy to achieve. For example, in a situation where a Korean host is entertaining a mixed group of Korean and American guests the host may have to make some very sensitive choices about language use: some things must be said in Korean to reaffirm the hierarchical social relationships among the Koreans present, but this may make the Americans uncomfortable. Successful adaptation to complex bicultural situations does not happen automatically, but requires sensitivity, planning, and conscious choices.

While 90.7% of the fathers and 93.8% of the mothers felt that it was advantageous for a child to be bilingual and bicultural, they were not clear on how this should be achieved: 91.8% of the fathers and 87.6% of the mothers agreed that the Korean cultural heritage should be taught mainly at home, but 73.1% of the fathers and 74.7% of the mothers also agreed that a bilingual program at the school was a good place for this cultural learning to take place. This appears to be an area in which the schools and the parents need to deliberate and agree on what is to be taught where.

TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS

As noted earlier, the process of collecting data from the teachers of the subject children encountered several unforeseen difficulties. In some instances teachers were unable to give complete information on a child because the teacher knew the child only as a member of a homeroom, or only as a member of a bilingual or other special class at a "magnet" school. In these instances, the respondent teachers were allowed to answer "Not applicable" to the items in question. Percentages in the tables are adjusted for these missing data. There were also some difficulties in locating some teachers at the schools, a problem which sometimes remained unresolved and resulted in dropping eight cases from the study. In these cases the parents expressed absolute certainty as to the teacher's name, but no such teacher existed at the child's school. This problem may be related to the parents' lack of English proficiency, to poor communications between school and home, or both.

Academic Progress. The teachers' evaluations of the subject children were generally quite favorable (Table II-37). The areas in which the children appeared to be having the

Table II-37 Chicago Teachers' Ranking of Subject Children

Developmental/Behavioral Dimension	Ranking (Adjusted Percentage)* Outstanding	Satisfactory	Needs Improvement
Participation in group activities	48.5	39.4	12.1
Maturity	42.0	46.6	12.0
Respect for rights and opinions of others	54.5	37.4	8.1
Use of own ideas	46.5	43.4	10.1
Handling of responsibilities	63.0	29.0	8.0
Self-control	53.5	31.3	15.2
Ability to plan work independently	50.0	33.7	16.3
Ability to work with others	52.5	36.4	10.1
Use of time and materials	47.0	41.0	12.0
Neatness and care of work	71.0	21.0	8.0
Attentiveness (listening to learn)	58.6	33.3	8.1
Following of oral directions	52.0	32.0	14.0
Contribution to discussions and planning	31.3	38.4	27.3
Ability to express ideas	26.8	38.1	32.0
Use of word attack skills	38.4	40.4	19.2
Word memory	48.5	38.1	11.3
Comprehension	35.7	40.8	20.4
Up to class level in math	59.0	34.0	6.0
Experimentation with creative materials in art	58.0	33.0	6.0
Participation in songs, rhythms, and listening	40.4	44.4	10.1
Overall ranks	49.2	36.1	13.4

*Since some teachers had not observed some of the children in certain activities, they were allowed to respond "not applicable" in situations where they did not possess adequate information to rank the child. These N/A responses remain in the total numbers used to calculate the adjusted percentages in the table. In those instances where the three ranks shown do not total 100%, the difference represents N/A responses.

most problems were "contributions to discussions and planning," "ability to express ideas," "use of word attack skills," and "comprehension." It seems possible that these are the skills most closely associated with English fluency. *Additionally, success in these areas depends on the child's confidence: a sense of familiarity with the school's expectations and a feeling of comfort in the school environment.* However, this conclusion must be approached with caution, since the subject children received much better rankings on "attentiveness," "following of oral directions," and "word memory." These dimensions would also appear to be related to command of English, although the difference may be that these activities do not require as much active, verbal response as the categories in which the children were ranked lower. Even in these areas, however, the teachers' evaluations were generally favorable, with considerably more than half of the children in the study being ranked as satisfactory or outstanding. Overall, nearly half of the Korean children (49.2%) were considered outstanding.

In considering the teachers' evaluations of the study children, it should be borne in mind that the teachers are generally ranking the Korean-American children in comparison with other minority children. The schools in the study have relatively large populations of minority students (primarily black and Hispanic), and the overall socioeconomic profile of the student body is probably quite low, reflecting the location of the schools in transitional inner-city neighborhoods. It seems likely that the teachers' evaluations of the study children would be somewhat lower if they were being evaluated in reference to a majority culture student body in a more prosperous area, such as a predominantly white suburb.

Behavioral Evaluation. As Table II-38 shows, the teachers' perceptions of the behavior of the subject children were also mostly favorable. The children were generally perceived

Table II-38 Chicago Teachers' Report of the Frequency with which Subject Children Engage in Selected Behaviors

Behavior	Frequency (Percent) Frequently	Moderately	Seldom	Never
Asks for teacher's help	16.0	45.0	33.0	6.0
Shows initiative in using English	61.6	21.2	13.1	4.0
Initiates disruptive behavior	11.1	13.1	16.2	59.6
Participates in disruptive behavior initiated by others	14.0	13.0	20.0	53.0
Talks with other children during worktime	23.0	29.0	41.0	7.0
Is modest about his/her achievements	35.4	42.4	11.1	11.1
Mentions his/her immediate family	8.1	18.2	33.3	40.4
Mentions his/her extended family	7.1	8.1	31.3	53.5
Is polite in social situations	75.5	20.4	3.1	1.0
Is respectful to adults	59.0	17.0	11.0	13.0
Works quietly and intently on schoolwork	65.0	25.0	8.0	2.0
Has trouble finding right words to express him/herself	29.3	34.3	26.3	10.1
Shows off material possessions	7.1	12.1	33.3	47.5
Is careful to collect work papers and take them home	69.4	18.4	8.2	4.1

as well-behaved and studious, although it should be noted that the number of children who talk during worktime, engage in or join disruptive behavior, or are disrespectful to adults, or show off material possessions is by no means negligible. These are precisely the kinds of behaviors that appear to distress the respondent parents, who take them as signs of an undesirable sort of Americanization.

The behavioral items concerning the child's mention of his/her nuclear and extended family were included because it was uncertain at the outset just what the composition of the families in the study would be. As has been noted earlier, the 99 families in the study proved to contain only 10 relatives. Therefore, nearly all the families must be nuclear, and it is thus not surprising that the children would be more likely to mention members of their nuclear families. In fact, it is perhaps surprising that the children mentioned extended family members as much as they did. This may be an indication of the importance of the extended family, particularly grandparents, in Korean-American family life.

Despite the teachers' generally favorable ratings of the children's English proficiency, nearly two-thirds (63.6%) of the children were reported to have frequent or moderate trouble in finding the right words to express themselves. Thus it appears that, while the children are usually managing to cope with English, there are obviously still some rough places in their command of the language.

Cultural patterning almost certainly plays a major role in establishing the behaviors of these children that were observed so favorably by the teachers. The qualities of politeness and studiousness could be taken to represent an almost stereotypic picture of Asian children. On the other hand, that 39% of the children seldom or never ask for the teacher's help is probably also culturally determined and is probably an undesirable trait in an American classroom where children are expected to ask for such help in the normal course of the educational process.

It is of some interest that moderate numbers of children were reported to need improvement in the areas of maturity, self-control, and independent planning of work. It is hypothesized that these difficulties may arise from cultural factors. In Korean child-rearing, the child is usually allowed great behavioral latitude and is indulged considerably until about the age of five, at which time fairly strict behavioral controls and expectations are applied. Thus, an elementary school age Korean-American child may have a shorter history of expectations in the area of behavioral control and self-control than a majority culture child who has had such expectations gradually applied since an earlier age. Also, Korean-American children who have previously attended school in Korea may be somewhat unprepared for the greater autonomy that is expected in the American classroom. These factors may make a Korean-American child seem less "mature" to the teacher and may result in the child having some difficulties in self-control or in planning work independently.

It is possible that the Korean-American children in the study sample may be a "best case" group. The teacher interviewers noted in many cases that the teachers commented that, although the respondent child was well-behaved and a good student, there were other Korean-American children in the class who had severe academic or behavioral problems. Since these other children were not participating in the study no data could be collected on them, but this phenomenon is described quite often in the interviewers' field notes. It is hypothesized that parents who are aware that their children are having severe school problems, or who are themselves undergoing severe stress due to adjustment to the United States and are therefore devoting less time and energy to parenting, might be less likely to respond to a request to participate in a research project that might touch on these problem areas. Even within the sample group, however, there are children who are experiencing academic and social difficulties in school. In light of these facts, there is a need for further research to determine means of reaching parents who are undergoing stress and whose children are experiencing severe school problems. Just as these persons would tend to select themselves out of a research study, they would be unlikely to seek help for their problems from the usual social service agencies.

Home-school Interaction. As has already been discussed in relation to the results of the parent questionnaire, the teachers and parents reported a moderate degree of communication between school and home. Although 27.6% of the parents had not been contacted at all by the teacher, quite a few of the others had been contacted more than once during the year, in addition to the parent conference. Also, the teachers reported that about a fourth of the parents had taken the initiative to contact the teacher, in some cases more than once during the year.

As Table II-39 shows, the teachers felt in most cases that the parents in the study were supportive of the school and set high standards for the child's school performance. In this instance the relatively large number of "Don't know/Not applicable" responses probably represents those cases in which the teachers had little or no contact with the parents.

Table II-39 Teachers' Report of the Frequency with which Parents Have Been Contacted

Frequency of Contact	Number of Contacts	% of Contacts
Only at the regular parent conference	39	39.8
Once or twice during the year	18	18.4
Several times	14	14.3
No contact	27	27.6
Total	98	100.0

The teachers were generally favorable in their evaluations of the effects of bilingual programs. It is important to note, however, that many of these programs are actually TESL (Teaching English as a Second Language) programs, rather than true bilingual/bicultural programs. The TESL programs would therefore be likely to be considered positively by classroom teachers since they fulfill existing classroom instructional objectives.

There is in fact some evidence that the classroom teachers do not assign much classroom time and effort to assisting children in dealing with biculturality and diglossia. For example, in only 7% of the cases had the teacher developed instructional programs to help the child deal with these problems. In 44% of the cases the teacher had made no efforts in this direction, and in 47% the teacher claimed to have worked individually with the child in this area. Such individual help may of course range from very slight to very extensive. Also, in only two instances had teachers invited parents to come to class to participate in programs concerning Korean language or culture. Since many more parents (11.1%) reported instances in which they had gone to school for this purpose, it must be the bilingual program teachers or TESL teachers, rather than the classroom teachers, who are trying to get parents involved in bilingual/bicultural programs.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: CHICAGO SAMPLE

CHARACTERISTICS OF "PROBLEM" CHILDREN

Most of the children in the study did not attribute any school problems they had to their Korean ethnicity, but 36% did in fact feel that they had problems in school because they were Korean. In an attempt to determine the factors that lead to this sort of trouble, these children were compared to the children who reported no problems resulting from their Korean ethnicity. The two groups of children were compared on the following characteristics: 1) difficulty with English as a school subject, 2) ethnicity of best friend (Korean or American), 3) attitude toward going to school, 4) parents' satisfaction with academic progress, 5) whether or not parents look over homework, and 6) whether or not parents help with homework. Three of the six factors were found to have significant correlations:

1. Parents' satisfaction with their child's academic progress. Only 20% of the parents of the trouble group were satisfied, while 71% of the parents of the no-trouble group were satisfied with the academic progress their children were making.

2. Whether or not parents look over schoolwork. 72% of the parents of the no-problem group always look over their children's work brought home from school, while only 56% of the parents of the trouble group do so.

3. Whether or not parents help with homework. 46% of the children in the trouble group say their parents do not help them with their homework, while only 12% of the no-trouble group say they receive no help.

Taken at face value, these findings seem to suggest that parental concern and involvement in the child's academic progress at school may have important effects on the child's entire school experience, including social adjustment and coming to terms with the child's ethnicity in a sometimes hostile environment.

PARENTS' EXPECTATIONS

On the basis of a wide range of evidence in the study results, it seems clear that parental expectations of children that are contradictory, unclear, unrealistic, or in conflict with school expectations may be a problem for Korean-American children in the Chicago public schools. The parents' expectations of their children are extremely high, and the children generally perceive these expectations accurately, although some children felt they were not fulfilling parental expectations when their parents were in fact satisfied with their school performance. Because the parental expectations are so high, the children must attain a very high degree of success--and attain it consistently--if they are to avoid disapproval from their parents. One must ask whether this level of achievement is realistic, given the language problems of some of these children. Even if the children succeed in meeting these high parental expectations, one must ask what the cost will be in terms of anxiety, resentment against the parents, and alienation from the child's American peers.

The common parental expectation that English is the most important thing for the child to learn in school may also be in conflict with the reality of the child's life at school and at home. It seems clear from several types of evidence that the children in the study continue to have significant difficulty with English, not so much in the conversational area as in school subjects and types of learning that are heavily dependent upon command of English. Thus, although the child may feel comfortable with English as a social medium (and most of the children do), the child may also experience continual frustration and failure in uses of the language that are graded and reported to the home in terms of academic accomplishment, or lack of it. An additional factor is that almost all of the English experience of the children is concentrated in school. As a result, the child's progress in acquiring deep-structural familiarity with English may not meet parental expectations. Finally, the strong language split between home and school may be another factor pressuring the child to take sides with one environment or the other. This may be a strong argument for providing bilingual/bicultural programs for Korean-American children in the public schools.

Yet, if parents want the advantages of biculturality for their children, they may have to tolerate a slower pace of English acquisition while maintaining confidence that their children will catch up in time. It may be that the most effective way of learning English may not be best for total learning and may not promote bilingualism/biculturalism or a positive self-identity. Parents want their children to be more than an English-speaking people who have totally given up their ethnicity. Such people may find themselves not quite in any culture: not completely accepted by the majority culture and no longer part of their original minority culture.

AMBIVALENCE TOWARD ETHNICITY AND ACCULTURATION: CHALLENGE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A BICULTURAL ORIENTATION

Various types of evidence from the study data point toward an appreciable amount of ambivalence and inconsistency of expectations on the part of the parents concerning the cultural choices their children will have to make in the process of finding their place in American life. The parents want extensive use of Korean to be maintained, but also want their children to be proficient in English. They want their children to retain various Korean cultural traits, while at the same time adopting certain American cultural traits that obviously have utility in American life, some of which may at times come into conflict with the corresponding Korean cultural traits. It appears that in areas such as these the parents must ultimately make some hard conscious choices for themselves and then must be prepared to assist their children in making similar cultural decisions, as the occasions arise. Parents have to provide the opportunity for these choices; biculturalism does not come naturally or happen automatically.

AMERICANIZATION AND FAMILY LIFE

The process of Americanization the sample children may be undergoing in the public schools does not yet appear to have caused major difficulties in the home. Nonetheless, the parents seem to perceive behavioral and attitudinal changes in their children, which the parents believe to be the result of the American school experience. Similarly, the teachers of the sample children are noting classroom behaviors that parallel those observed by the parents and that run counter to traditional, culturally-based Korean behavior patterns. Analysis of the data suggests that this conflict may increase with time, either because of the child's increased acculturation or because the parents gradually overcome their difficulties with adjustment to the new environment and thus can turn more of their attention to their children. In any case, the parents believe this to be a time-based problem, and therefore this problem surely deserves careful study. This anxiety appears to have a definite basis in reality since many parents base their fear for their own children on observations of problems experienced by long-term residents, who tend to have adolescent children. Teenagers generally have more conflicts with parents, and those conflicts are often more intense. The teenage years for the Korean-American children will be a challenge to the parents as well as to the schools.

THE LANGUAGE BASIS OF PROBLEMS

From several aspects, the data collected in Chicago suggest that the development--or the failure to develop--English proficiency may be a pivotal factor in both social adjustment and academic success for the child in school. There were strong positive correlations between the teachers' ratings of the children's English proficiency and ratings on a series of cognitive traits that appear to have an underlying connection to language usage: "following directions" ($p<.01$), "contributions to discussions" ($p<.001$), "ability to express ideas" ($p<.001$), "word attack skills" ($p<.01$), and "comprehension" ($p<.001$). In all of these cases, those children who were rated better on English proficiency were also rated higher on the cognitive traits. The teachers' ratings of the children's English proficiency thus appear to be internally consistent; they also agree with at least one measure of the child's perception of his/her own proficiency, that is, whether or not the child expressed difficulty in understanding the teacher ($p<.01$).

A key factor in the child's language use and in some social areas appears to be the language used in the home. Few families in the study used a preponderance of English for communication in the home; however, it is possible to divide them into homes that use Korean entirely (or almost entirely) and those where communication between parent and child is usually in a mixture of Korean and some English. These two types of home situations may be characterized as predominantly monoglossic (Korean only) or diglossic (Korean and English). Children from monoglossic homes are less likely to feel positively about their parents visiting school ($p<.05$), and they are more likely to have only Korean playmates after school ($p<.05$). Also, there is a correlation between the parents' report of the child's difficulty with English in school and the child's perception of whether or not he/she has trouble in school because of being Korean ($p<.05$). Taking a general view of these data, one may observe that low English use/proficiency in the parent-child dyad appears to be reflected in the child's social, as well as academic, life.

The challenge to both teachers and parents is to recognize that Korean-American children are engaged in the process of experimenting with the possibilities of two worlds. In this process, the teacher can have the important function of helping maintain pride in the ethnic culture, while developing a sensitive appreciation of the best that both cultures have to offer. The parents in the study clearly seemed to prefer that their children develop a bicultural orientation, but many probably cannot articulate this consciously, and some may not even be aware that this is an option open to their children. These, too, are areas in which the teacher can help the child--by helping the child's parents.

CHAPTER III: FINDINGS FROM THE LOS ANGELES SAMPLE

INTRODUCTION

During the second project year, data were collected from a sizable sample of Korean-American parents and children, and their public school teachers in Los Angeles, California. When the study was conceived, Los Angeles was selected as a field site because of the very large Korean-American population located there (over 200,000) and also because, on the basis of informal observation, the Los Angeles Korean-American community appeared to have a somewhat different demographic and socioeconomic makeup than the Chicago community, which was also to be studied.

As the data presented in this section show, these suppositions have been at least partly borne out. The active sample in Los Angeles amounted to 309 cases, or slightly over three times the size of the Chicago sample. Also, the Los Angeles sample does differ somewhat from the Chicago sample in terms of education, demographics, and socioeconomic level. In some cases, these differences find reflection in the parents' attitudes and their reports of their children's school experience; in other cases, there is a surprising amount of consistency in the data from the two samples. Comparisons between the Chicago and Los Angeles data will largely be reserved for Chapter IV of this report; the present section will concentrate on presenting a picture of the Los Angeles sample.

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY CONTACT

Approximately five months before the anticipated starting date of the project in Los Angeles, the Principal Investigator contacted the Chairman of the Committee on Research Studies of the Los Angeles Unified School District. The chairman provided the necessary application forms to apply for permission to conduct the project in the Los Angeles schools, and, after permission was granted, he provided a letter of introduction and facilitated contact with the principals of schools where the study was to be conducted.

The area in which the study would be conducted was chosen after consultation with the Executive Secretary of the Asian American Education Commission of the Los Angeles Unified School District. He was familiar with the distribution of Asian minority groups in the Los Angeles area and provided valuable assistance in choosing the area with the heaviest Korean-American concentration in the school population.

Contiguous portions of Areas E and F of the Los Angeles Unified School District appeared to offer the greatest concentration of the target population, and therefore this locality was chosen as the field site for the study. Before the data collection began, Areas E and F were combined by the school district into a new administrative entity known as Area 5; therefore, the field site will be identified throughout the balance of this report as Area 5. The superintendent of Area 5 provided much valuable assistance and cooperation in conducting the Los Angeles phase of the study.

Just before the end of the 1977-78 school year, letters were sent to the principals of those schools in Area 5 that, in the estimation of school district personnel, contained the largest concentrations of non-native Korean-American children. This letter explained the nature of the project, outlined what would be asked of participating schools, and requested an opportunity for the Principal Investigator to meet later with the principal to discuss the school's participation in the project. Nine schools out of a total of 14 in Area 5 were found to have large concentrations of Korean-American children and were thus contacted.

During the summer of 1978, the Principal Investigator visited or telephoned the principals who had previously been contacted by letter and secured permission to conduct the study at their schools. At this time it was learned that five of the nine schools participating in the study would be involved in a program to bus students to and from schools in other areas to achieve racial balance. In some cases, this program would mean that most of the Korean-American children at a participating school would actually be in attendance at another school in the Los Angeles school district. The statistical consultant to the project recommended that, in order to preserve the integrity of the sample, the children at these schools be followed to the "paired" and "clustered" schools they would attend, and that their classroom teachers there be interviewed for the project. Accordingly, permission was obtained from the Committee on Research Studies to extend the study to the paired and clustered schools as well, and the principals of these schools were subsequently contacted concerning their schools' participation. Of the nine paired schools, eight initially agreed to participate, and permission to interview teachers at the ninth school was later obtained. Thus, it was possible to include the whole of the original sample universe in the project, despite a large-scale busing program.

SAMPLING

In September 1978, a field office was established at the Los Angeles field site, and a field coordinator and assistant were hired to begin the contact and sampling procedures. These procedures were similar to those used at the Chicago field site during the first year of the project. Bilingual (Korean and English) contact letters were prepared, accompanied by a contact permission form and stamped, self-addressed envelope for return of the forms to the field office. These items were sealed in envelopes, which were then addressed by project personnel at the school sites and mailed to Korean-American parents who had children attending the participating schools. Only those parents who returned the form indicating their willingness to be contacted were then approached by project personnel and asked to participate in the project. This procedure was developed to safeguard the confidentiality of school records.

Preparing the lists of families to whom contact letters would be sent proved to be a frustrating and time-consuming task. Existing school lists were found to be incomplete, so new lists had to be compiled on the basis of school registration cards. In many cases, these cards were several years out of date, having been filed at the time when the child first entered school; these cases had to be updated by comparison with the emergency contact cards filed by the parents at the beginning of the school year. This presented two additional difficulties: the cards were not filed alphabetically, and the order in which the child's names were given was not uniform. This is a persistent record-keeping difficulty wherever Korean persons interact with American institutions. Traditionally, the family name is given first in Korean, followed by the person's given name, which has two more or less distinct parts, since it is always composed of two Chinese ideographs. Korean-Americans often--but not always--invert the order of their names to conform to the western practice of giving the given name first, followed by the family name. This may be particularly confusing to Americans, because the Korean given names are sometimes transliterated into English letters as two separate words (Chung Hee), as a hyphenated compound (Chung-Hee), or as a single word (Chunghee). Then, to multiply the confusion, many Korean-Americans fail to read and/or understand the "fine print" instructions on official forms, such as school registration cards, and hence do not present the names in the order requested on American forms: family name first, followed by given name, and then middle name, if any. Thus, even when lists were correctly alphabetized, it was often necessary to search for a child under three "names": the family name and both particles of the given name. A final complication in alphabetical searching was that there are often several commonly used English transliterations for a single Korean name: Park, Paik, Pak, and Pahk may all represent the same Korean family name. We have detailed these difficulties here because they may be encountered by other researchers studying Korean-Americans, and they are certainly a persistent problem for school officials and other American personnel who serve a Korean-American clientele. In the case of the present project, these complications in name lists required over a week's work by three project workers before they were rectified. Often, school records were only available for inspection during limited hours, and accommodating this constraint proved to be an added difficulty in preparing reliable lists for mailing out contact letters.

The first round of letters was sent out on October 10, 1978 to a total of 1,007 non-native Korean-American families with children registered at the participating schools. On November 20, a followup mailing was sent to the same group. From these mailings, 148 positive responses and 101 negative responses were received. A total of 181 letters were returned by the Postal Service as unforwardable, leaving 577 nonresponses.

This relatively low rate of return apparently resulted from parent misunderstanding of the contact procedure. Although the letter and contact form were provided in Korean as well as English, the parents apparently did not grasp that it was necessary to return the form before the project could contact them. This became clear from the reports of the interviewers who interviewed the first parent respondents: frequently, at the end of an interview a parent respondent would casually ask whether the interviewer had also interviewed another family in the neighboorhood, "who also received a letter." It was soon apparent that many parents who wanted to participate would not be reached because of a difficulty in the contact procedure. It is hypothesized that cultural factors may have led to this misreading of the contact letter. In Korean culture, most interpersonal contacts are verbal and in person, rather than written and impersonal, and written contact is regarded as a mere formality to be followed by personal contact. Therefore, the respondents assumed that the project would contact them at some point after the letter arrived, in spite of the wording of the contact letter and the presence of a contact form and stamped, self-addressed envelope.

Dr. Sudman of the Survey Research Laboratory at the University of Illinois was consulted concerning alternative contact procedures to reach more of the sample universe without introducing unacceptable sampling errors. On the basis of this consultation, snowball sampling was rejected, since it results in a heavily nonrandom sample. Instead, it was decided to introduce a telephone followup for those parents who had not responded to either mailing of the contact letter. Permission to perform such a telephone followup was received from the participating schools, and contact lists were prepared covering only those parents who had not responded. As predicted, a large number of parents contacted by phone expressed a desire to participate in the study. After telephone contact, the sample was increased to a total of 324 cases, or 32.2% of the sample universe. Exact figures for contacts, noncontacts, and refusals during this stage of the sampling cannot be supplied due to record keeping problems at the field office.

DATA COLLECTION

Project interviewers were recruited through advertisements placed in both local ethnic newspapers and the USC and UCLA campus newspapers. It was required that interviewers be bilingual, with good command of both Korean and English, and that they have some background or experience in the social sciences. Seventeen applications were received and twelve interviewers were hired after screening by the Principal Investigator and field coordinator. The interviewers attended an all-day training session with the Principal Investigator and then spent a second day conducting mock interviews to gain familiarity with interview procedures and with the construction of the questionnaire. After evaluation of the mock interviews, each interviewer was assigned five cases from the study sample. A formal evaluation of the interviewer's work was performed after he or she completed these five initial cases.

As parent contact forms were returned, those with positive responses were contacted, definite willingness to participate was established, and cases were then assigned to the interviewers by the field coordinator. The interviewers were paid on a per-case basis, making as many visits as necessary to obtain interviews from both parents (if the family was intact) and the child. Where a family had more than one child attending the participating school, the oldest child was chosen to be interviewed.

After a parent interview was conducted, the questionnaire was edited by a project staff member under the supervision of the Principal Investigator. If missing data or improbable responses were found, the interviewer was required to contact the respondent to obtain or verify the information. When a questionnaire was completed and edited, it was then coded for keypunching by another member of the project staff under the supervision of the Principal Investigator. During the coding process, any evident errors found by the coder were referred to the field coordinator who in turn asked the interviewers to recheck or verify the information. Thus, there were at least two distinct steps to check incompatible responses and missing information. Telephone verification of interviews was conducted in Los Angeles by the field coordinator on 10% of the interviews completed.

Interviewing of teachers at the participating schools was not begun until the bulk of the parent interviews were completed. The number of visits to each school was minimized by delaying until this point because all respondent contact procedures were then complete and it was possible to develop complete lists of children whose teachers would be interviewed at each school.

Teacher interviewers were recruited through advertisements in the local newspapers and in the USC and UCLA campus newspapers. Initially, six interviewers were selected and trained in January 1979, although only four interviewers subsequently worked on the project. From one to three interviewers were assigned to a school, depending on the number of interviews to be conducted. The number of teacher interviews at the participating schools ranged from 1 to 74. In many cases, the interviews at a school were completed in one day, although it was necessary to return three to four times to complete the interviews at the largest schools.

During the early stages of contact with the Los Angeles schools, it was suggested by school personnel that class disruption during the teacher interviews would be minimized if substitute teachers were provided for this time. Accordingly, funds were allocated in the project budget to cover the cost of substitute teachers' salaries. Once the necessary arrangements were concluded with the school district business office, the system worked well. There were occasional complaints from teachers who still found the interviews to be a disruption of their classes, although this may have been caused in part by overcrowded conditions at some of the participating schools. Also, some principals preferred to have aides or other regular school personnel take over for the classroom teachers, rather than bringing in substitutes. The first round of teacher interviewing was completed at all schools by March 15, 1979, and any remaining cases arising from later parent contacts were interviewed over the course of the next month.

DATA REDUCTION

As noted above, coding of the completed questionnaires was performed by project personnel under the supervision of the Principal Investigator. The coding system used was based on the response patterns of the Chicago sample in the first year of the study, with a few additions to the response categories to accommodate the Los Angeles teachers' comments about inservice training.

For the first computer runs, frequency tables were produced showing the Los Angeles data alone, as well as the combined Los Angeles and Chicago results. Also, cross tabulations of the Los Angeles data were run for combinations of items that have been found to be of interest in the Chicago data. In this section of the report, the Los Angeles frequencies and cross tabs will be considered; comparisons of data from the two field sites are reported and discussed in Chapter IV of this report.

MAJOR FINDINGS

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The Los Angeles parent respondents are on the young side of middle-aged, are moderately well educated, and are mostly employed full time in jobs that fall around the middle of the occupational scale or a little above. Most households are composed of nuclear families--parents and either two or three children--and are housed in rented apartments.

Table III-1 indicates that the parent respondents ranged in age from 23 to 69, with the largest concentration of persons (85.4%) falling between the ages of 30 and 44. The median age of all parents was 38.2 years, with the fathers being about a half year older than the mothers. The 309 families in the study had a total of 771 children, for an average of 2.5 children per family. There were from 1 to 5 children per family, and the children ranged in age from 1 to 26 years, with the largest concentration (78.5%) being between the ages of 4 and 13 (Table III-2). The children included as respondents in the study were between the ages of 5 and 13, with 87.9% falling between 6 and 11 years. Although the study selected for the oldest child attending the participating school, it should be noted that these children

Table III-1 Ages of Los Angeles Parents

Age Group	Number of Parents	% of Parents
21-25	1	0.2
26-30	26	4.3
31-35	143	23.9
36-40	205	34.3
41-45	167	27.9
46-50	41	6.9
51-55	11	1.8
56-60	2	0.3
61-65	0	—
66 and above	2	0.3
Total	598	100.0

Table III-2 Ages of Children in Los Angeles Respondent Families

Age Group	Number of Children	% of Children
1-4	74	9.6
5-9	385	49.9
10-14	219	28.4
15-17	54	7.0
18 and older	39	5.1
Total	771	100.0

Table III-3 Household Size of Los Angeles Respondent Families

Number of Persons in Family	Number of Families	% of Families
2	6	1.9
3	28	9.1
4	126	40.8
5	93	30.1
6	43	13.9
7	7	2.3
8	4	1.3
9	2	0.6
Total	309	100.0

Table III-4 Length of Residence in Los Angeles and in the United States

	Los Angeles		*U.S.A.*	
Length of Residence	Number of Families	% of Families	Number of Families	% of Families
1 day — 1 year	64	20.7	51	16.5
1.1 year — 3 years	128	41.4	124	40.1
3.1 years — 6 years	87	28.2	93	30.1
6.1 years and over	30	9.7	41	13.3
Total	309	100.0	309	100.0

are often not the oldest in their families. Children older than 12 would usually be in attendance at junior high schools.

As Table III-3 shows, the respondent households ranged in size from 2 to 9 persons, although 70.9% contain either 4 or 5 persons. Nearly all the families are nuclear; all told, the 309 households surveyed contained only 51 persons other than nuclear family members. These other persons ranged in age from 1 to 90 years, with 56.9% being 55 years or older. Thus most of the extended family members present appear to be grandparents, a pattern which is fairly common among Korean immigrants. The relatively small number of households with any extended family members present (16.5%) is also as expected; most Korean-Americans have immigrated quite recently, and extended family members would usually not be invited to join the family in the United States until the nuclear family is well settled and somewhat economically secure. Most such "chain immigration" would be delayed until the original immigrants have been naturalized, since immediate relatives of U.S. citizens receive preference under the immigration quota system. Most of the Los Angeles families (56.5%) have been in the United States less than three years and thus would not be naturalized; only 13.3% have been residents over six years. As Table III-4 shows, only a small portion of the respondents have lived anywhere else but Los Angeles since immigrating. However, it should be noted that the mobil-

Table III-5 Los Angeles Parents' Marital Status

Status	Number of Parents	% of Parents
Married, spouse present	287	92.9
Married, spouse not present	10	3.2
Divorced	5	1.6
Separated	1	0.3
Widowed	6	1.9
Total	309	100.0

Table III-6 Sources of Child Care Reported by Los Angeles Parents

Source	Number of Children	% of Children
Relative	41	16.6
Neighbor or friend	42	17.0
Daycare center	11	4.5
Respondent or spouse	60	24.3
Other	93	37.7
Total	247	100.0

ity of Korean-Americans within the Los Angeles area is apparently quite high, as evidenced by the large proportion of parent contact letters (18%) returned by the Postal Service and a large number of instances in which respondent families moved from one school area to another in the time between contact and the completion of parent and teacher interviews. In all there were 73 cases in which a child whose parents had been interviewed could not initially be located at school. Most of these problems were resolved during the process of teacher interviewing. However, 24 cases could not be resolved.

Only one respondent family in ten owns a house, while 83.8% rent apartments, 5.2% rent houses, and one family reported owning a condominium. The housing of the Los Angeles sample is probably a reflection of their relatively recent arrival in the United States, although it may be determined to some extent by the available housing stock in the study area (rental apartments predominate) and the very high cost of real estate in the Los Angeles area. The impression of the interviewers was that much of the rental housing of the respondents was cramped and shabby, if not actually substandard. Indeed, some of the respondents asked to be interviewed in restaurants and other public places because they were ashamed to have an outsider--even another ethnic person--see their apartments.

Nearly all the families in the study are intact, with both parents present. In Table III-5, the "Married, spouse not present" category should be clearly distinguished from "Separated." In Korean immigrant families it is often the practice for one spouse to stay behind to meet extended family commitments. In almost all cases, these spouses will ultimately join the family members in the United States. Although the divorce rate for Korean-Americans is quite low, it is probably higher than that shown in the study sample. It is quite likely that potential respondents who are divorced or separated would tend to decline to participate in a study such as this, because they are probably undergoing more stress than respondents in intact families.

Families that contained preschool children were asked what arrangements they used for child care; the findings are shown in Table III-6. Where possible, the respondents prefer to manage child care in the home; when both parents work outside the home, this often means working different shifts so that one parent can be with the children. It is noteworthy that very few respondents use daycare centers. Comments from respondents suggested that many more parents would use daycare centers if they were available, if they were less expensive, and if they were located in close proximity to their homes. Cooperative neighboorhood daycare centers, which would fulfill these requirements, are virtually nonexistent in the study area. Stringent licensing requirements usually cannot be met, and the Korean-American community appears to have little history of experience with such ventures. This is an area in which

Table III-7 Los Angeles Parents' Employment Status

Employment Status	Father N	Father %	Mother N	Mother %
Full time	256	86.8	216	71.1
Part time	14	4.7	22	7.2
More than one job	1	0.3	–	–
Unable to work	9	3.1	3	1.0
Unemployed, looking for work	10	3.4	4	1.3
Unemployed, not looking for work	2	0.7	–	–
Homemaker	3	1.0	59	19.4
Total	295	100.0	304	100.0

Table III-8 Los Angeles Parents' Occupation or Job Title

Employment Status	Father N	Father %	Mother N	Mother %
Professional	19	6.3	11	3.8
Nurse, teacher	10	3.3	7	2.4
Managerial	12	3.9	3	1.0
Clerical	9	3.0	13	4.5
Proprietor	82	27.0	58	19.9
Skilled	52	17.1	33	11.3
Semiskilled	56	18.4	99	34.0
Unskilled, service	28	9.2	15	5.2
None (or homemaker)	36	11.8	52	17.9
Total	304	100.0	291	100.0

further research should be conducted to determine the most culturally appropriate forms of daycare services for this population and to investigate practical means of implementing such services through the development and use of community resources.

Provisions of adequate and affordable daycare services is of particular importance to the Los Angeles Korean-American community because of the high rate of full-time workforce participation by both men and women (Table III-7). With 71.1% of the mothers employed full time outside the home it is clear that many of the study respondents must rely on informal sources of child care, staggered shifts, or both. As was the case in Chicago, the number of respondents working two jobs is not large. It should be noted, however, that persons working multiple jobs would probably be less likely to participate in the study due to lack of time. The project interviewers reported some instances in which mothers who had formerly worked full time in the home doing piecework for the garment industry have been forced to forego this form of employment because of government regulations. In some cases, this has forced mothers of young children to take jobs outside the home; other respondents reported that they had ceased working because they could not manage the problems of providing child care.

The occupational categories of the Los Angeles respondents are shown in Table III-8. It appears that the largest concentration of respondents are employed about half way up the occupational scale, at about the level of skilled or semiskilled labor. The mothers appear generally to hold slightly lower job levels than the fathers, but the difference is not very great. Two categories are of particular interest since they may reflect larger social factors in the lives of the respondents. First, very few respondents hold managerial positions; this probably reflects a relatively low level of English fluency, together with what may be a general reluctance of business to place visible minority persons in managerial positions. The second category of interest is that of proprietor. The large number of proprietors among the

Table III-9 Los Angeles Parents' Education in Korea

Highest Educational Level	Father N	Father %	Mother N	Mother %
Elementary school	9	3.1	16	5.3
Some high school	6	2.0	25	8.2
Some high school plus trade school	7	2.4	4	1.3
High school graduate	56	19.0	111	36.5
Trade school beyond high school	1	0.3	5	1.6
Some college	36	12.2	35	11.5
College graduate	157	53.4	107	35.2
Graduate study	19	6.5	1	0.3
Doctorate	3	0.3	—	—
Total	294	100.0	304	100.0

Table III-10 Los Angeles Parents' Education in the United States

Highest Educational Level	Father N	Father %	Mother N	Mother %
No additional U.S. education	263	89.2	297	98.0
Some high school	—	—	—	—
High school graduate	1	0.3	—	—
Trade school beyond high school	2	0.7	—	—
Some college graduate	10	3.4	3	1.0
College graduate	5	1.7	1	0.3
Graduate study	10	3.4	2	0.7
Doctorate	4	1.4	—	—
Total	295	100.0	303	100.0

respondents reflects what is obvious from driving through the neighboorhoods where the study was conducted: there are many ethnic small businesses in the Los Angeles Korean-American community. With the partial exception of restaurants, most of these businesses are patronized largely by ethnic persons and represent an important means of economic survival within the ethnic community. All types of businesses are represented in the ethnic community, including some such as banks, car dealerships, and appliance stores that compete directly with majority culture businesses, but customers or clients will be Koreans.

In studying the occupational level of any group it is important to consider occupation in relation to educational background. As Tables III-9 and III-10 show, the educational level of the parent respondents is moderately high: half of the fathers and a third of the mothers are college graduates, and most of the respondents have at least completed high school. For the most part, the Los Angeles parents appear to have completed their schooling before coming to the United States, although 10.8% of the fathers and 2.0% of the mothers have furthered their educations since immigration.

The present study did not attempt to compare occupational level and income before and after immigration, but the respondents were asked to make judgments on whether or not their jobs and incomes were commensurate with their educational levels. As Tables III-11 and III-12 show, some respondents feel that they are underemployed or underpaid. Underemployment appears to be perceived as the more serious problem, especially by women. Most women were educated in Korea but not employed there. Thus, they are aware of not being employed up to their capabilities and level of education. In addition, because they have no previous experience with job market realities they are unaware of the difficulty of the employment search, and subsequently their frustration with their inability to get an appropriate job is intensified. At the same

Table III-11 Los Angeles Parents' Perception of Commensurability of Education and Income Levels

Income Fair in View of Education?	Father N	Father %	Mother N	Mother %
Definitely yes	22	8.0	15	5.5
Probably yes	87	31.5	73	26.8
Difficult to say	83	30.1	96	35.3
Probably no	43	15.6	50	18.4
Definitely no	41	14.9	38	14.0
Total	276	100.0	272	100.0

*Asked only of respondents who were employed.

Table III-12 Los Angeles Parents' Perception of Commensurability of Occupational and Educational Levels

Occupational Level Commensurate with Education?	Father N	Father %	Mother N	Mother %
Definitely yes	27	9.7	17	6.2
Probably yes	66	23.8	64	23.4
Difficult to say	65	23.5	64	23.4
Probably no	44	15.9	51	18.6
Definitely no	75	27.1	78	28.5
Total	277	100.0	274	100.0

time, their inexperience with either Korean or American wage scales contributes, along with the higher pay in the United States for lower-status jobs, to a perception of underpayment as less of a problem than underemployment.

Overall, the data suggest that the respondents may have undergone some degree of downward mobility on the occupational scale as a result of coming to the United States. However, analyses of the data on underemployment show that respondents who are long-time U.S. residents are more likely to feel that their incomes are fair in terms of their educational levels and fair in comparison with the wages paid to comparable American workers. Also, the fathers come to believe that their job levels are commensurate with their educational levels, but the mothers do not, again, possibly because the women have little pre-immigration workplace experience for purposes of comparison. Thus, in some respects at least, the immigration experience appears to be only a temporary setback so far as the respondents' perceived levels of employment and income are concerned.

The respondents' self-evaluation of English fluency is reported here as a demographic characteristic since this factor is often related to other demographic indices, such as income, location of residence, and job level. Table III-13 shows the parent respondents' self-evaluation of their ability to speak, read, and write English. In general, few respondents feel they are truly fluent in English, but, conversely, few respondents have no knowledge of English at all; most of the respondents report fair to poor knowledge of English. As might be predicted from their somewhat lower educational level and workforce participation, the mothers report a lower level of English fluency.

It will be noted that the respondents tended to rate themselves somewhat higher on writing than on speaking or reading English. Probably the respondents interpreted "writing" to mean the ability to form the letters of the Roman alphabet, not compositional ability.

Earlier studies of Asian groups (Kim and Condon, 1975; Kim 1978) have suggested that English fluency may have far-reaching influence on a number of areas of the lives of recent Asian immigrants. For example, a low level of fluency may mean that one is unable to find work or housing outside the ethnic enclave. Also, one's employment opportunities are limited

Table III-13 Los Angeles Parents' Self-assessment of Their Ability to Speak, Read, and Write English

	Speaking				Reading				Writing			
	Father		Mother		Father		Mother		Father		Mother	
Fluency	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Fluent	15	5.2	8	2.7	22	7.7	11	3.7	25	8.8	12	4.1
Good	60	20.8	46	15.6	75	26.4	52	17.7	75	26.3	68	23.1
Fair	105	36.3	87	29.6	116	40.8	125	42.5	109	38.2	106	36.1
Poor	91	31.5	122	41.5	55	19.4	84	28.6	59	20.7	88	29.9
Not at all	18	6.2	31	10.5	16	5.6	22	7.5	17	6.0	20	6.8
Total	289	100.0	294	100.0	284	100.0	294	100.0	285	100.0	294	100.0

Table III-14 Los Angeles Families' Religious Preferences

Preference	Number of Families	% of Families
Protestant	183	59.4
Catholic	31	10.0
Buddhist	23	7.5
No preference	71	23.1
Total	308	100.0

to jobs requiring little or no English; outside the ethnic community, this tends to mean unskilled labor or service positions. That substantial numbers of Los Angeles respondents in the present study reported low English fluency suggests that English classes appropriate for Korean-speaking adults may be an important priority for this group. It also suggests that bilingual services be provided in the Los Angeles area, including Korean-speaking personnel to facilitate parent contact with the school system.

As we have discussed elsewhere in this report, there is a strong tendency for Korean-Americans to prefer extensive, or even exclusive, use of the Korean language when speaking to other Koreans. The Los Angeles respondents were no exception to this generalization, with three-fourths reporting that they always spoke Korean to their spouses; nearly all the rest said they used Korean most of the time. Almost the same language use pattern was reported by the children: 72.6% said thay always spoke Korean to their parents, and 25.7% reported using Korean and some English in combination. One major reason that most Koreans prefer to continue to use Korean with other ethnic persons is that the Korean language is well-equipped to express vertical hierarchical social relationships. It is important to most Koreans to maintain these role relationships, particularly within the structure of the family. That Korean-Americans tend to retain extensive use of Korean suggests that the English fluency of this group may increase at a relatively slow rate unless outside sources of English instruction are provided.

The religious preferences of the Los Angeles sample are shown in Table III-14. It should be noted that, while 69.4% of the respondents are Christians, only about 16% of the population of South Korea is Christian. Thus the religious preferences of the respondents appear to be an artifact of the immigration process. One hypothesis is that Christian Koreans would tend to have a familiarity with Western culture, which might give them impetus to consider emigration to America. Another possibility is that many immigrants become church members because the Korean ethnic churches are often the only viable ethnic organization in the community. In any case, most of the respondents are churchgoers, and many of their organizational activities appear to be church related as well (Table III-15). This suggests that ethnic churches and related organizations may be an important medium for reaching Korean-American community members.

Table III-15 Los Angeles Parents' Organizational Memberships

Type of Organization	Number of Memberships	% of Memberships
Religious	121	77.6
Ethnic	5	3.2
Professional	9	5.8
Recreational	21	13.5
Total*	156	100.0

*Percentages are based on total number of organizational memberships reported. Respondents could name more than one organizational membership; therefore, membership totals do not reflect sample size.

PARENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

In the areas of both academic and social learning the Los Angeles parents showed a moderately strong preference for American schools over Korean schools (Tables III-16 and III-17). It is not completely clear why some Korean-American parents prefer American schools and others prefer Korean schools, but some inferences can be drawn from the data in Tables III-18 through III-21. Those who prefer the American schools for academic learning appear generally to be impressed with the degree of individual attention the child receives in the American school, while those parents who consider the Korean schools to be superior for academic learning seem generally to feel that the Korean schools are more academically rigorous. This probably reflects real differences between the Korean and American schools. The Korean schools tend to be characterized by fairly large classes, relatively rigid behavior controls, an emphasis on drill and rote learning, and a very heavy homework load. Those parents who consider the Korean schools academically superior are probably reflecting a belief that this is the proper way to conduct education, while the parents who prefer American schools have apparently been impressed by a different system for achieving somewhat different academic goals.

Table III-16 Los Angeles Parents' Judgments of Academic Learning in Korean and U.S. Schools

Judgment	Number of Families	% of Families
U.S. schools are better for academic learning	169	54.9
Korean schools are better for academic learning	106	34.4
Each has pros and cons	26	8.4
Don't know	7	2.3
Total	308	100.0

Table III-17 Los Angeles Parents' Judgments of Social Learning in Korean and U.S. Schools

Judgment	Number of Families	% of Families
U.S. schools are better for social learning	188	60.8
Korean schools are better for social learning	63	20.4
Each has pros and cons	48	15.5
Don't know	10	3.2
Total	309	100.0

Table III-18 Reasons Given by Los Angeles Parents for Their Judgment that U.S. Schools are Better for Academic Learning

Reason	Number of Families	% of Families
Education is more practical	34	16.5
Creative learning is encouraged	22	10.7
There is equal opportunity	8	3.9
Knowledge is emphasized	1	0.5
More individual attention	56	27.2
Learning is faster	–	–
Academic learning is individually paced	44	21.4
Other	41	19.9
Total	206	100.0

Table III-19 Reasons Given by Los Angeles Parents for Their Judgment that Korean Schools are Better for Academic Learning

Reason	Number of Families	% of Families
Learning is more substantive	11	7.4
More is expected of the child	47	31.8
Psychological maturation is emphasized	–	–
Curriculum is more uniform	3	2.0
School is more strict	27	18.2
There is more homework	14	9.5
Rote learning is emphasized	36	24.3
Other	10	6.8
Total	148	100.0

Table III-20 Reasons Given by Los Angeles Parents for Their Judgment that U.S. Schools are Better for Social Learning

Reason	Number of Families	% of Families
Emphasis on child's potential	25	10.3
Emphasis on how to get along with others	47	19.3
Individuality is stressed	11	4.5
More opportunities for social learning	66	27.2
Equality of adults and children is stressed	33	13.6
Child is allowed autonomy	7	2.9
Child is allowed more freedom	4	1.6
Other	50	20.6
Total	243	100.0

Table III-21 Reasons Given by Los Angeles Parents for Their Judgment that Korean Schools are Better for Social Learning

Reason	Number of Families	% of Families
Self-sacrifice is stressed	4	3.7
Harmony is stressed	–	–
Everyone comes from same background	26	24.1
Broad emphasis on interpersonal relations	6	5.6
Can't express why	7	6.6
Children are forced into social learning	2	1.9
Moral education is stressed	9	8.5
Other	54	50.9
Total	108	100.0

Table III-22 Los Angeles Parents' Feelings About Their Child's Academic Progress

Feeling	Number of Parents	% of Parents
Very satisfied	34	11.2
Satisfied	148	48.7
Both satisfied and dissatisfied	83	27.3
Somewhat dissatisfied	33	10.9
Very dissatisfied	6	2.0
Total	304	100.0

In the area of social learning, those parents who prefer Korean schools point primarily to the homogeneity of the Korean school population and the stress on education as a process of character building, as well as the stress on social harmony in the Korean schools. These three factors are, in fact, ones that may not always be present in the social learning of American schools: the American population is not very homogeneous, the character-building component of American public school education is necessarily very general (again, because the population comes from diverse backgrounds and holds diverse value systems), and social harmony (in the Korean sense) is not a high value priority for the American majority society. This is an instance where the values of the school may be somewhat in conflict with those of the home, and parents and teachers must be prepared to assist the Korean-American child in developing a flexible, bicultural orientation toward the two models presented.

Those Korean-American parents who considered the American schools superior in the area of social learning seem generally to be impressed by the greater amount of practical social experience the child receives in an American school. In an American classroom, behavioral controls are often quite relaxed, compared to the situation in a Korean school, and the American school child is expected to engage in a certain amount of social interaction with peers for much of the school day. This interaction often includes having to solve difficulties in social interaction without the intervention of the teacher or other adults in the environments. Those parents who prefer the American schools for social learning seem to sense that this experience will aid the child's social development.

In general, the Los Angeles parents are fairly positive about the job the schools are doing. As Table III-22 shows, almost 60% are either satisfied or very satisfied with their children's progress, while only 2.0% are very dissatisfied. Also, over three-quarters (76.7%) of the Los Angeles parents feel that their children's grades always or at least frequently reflect the children's actual accomplishments. The only specific complaint that the parents seem to have about the schools is that thay should perhaps be more academically rigorous: 53.9% would like to see the schools give more, and harder homework.

The parents' responses to several other items also suggests that they expect the schools to have a fairly serious academic mission. For example, 81.2% of the Los Angeles parents said

Table III-23 Los Angeles Parents' Expectations of Their Child's School Behavior

Expectation	Number of Responses	% of Parents Responding
Pay attention	143	46.3
Obey teacher	109	35.4
Study hard	183	59.2
Get good grades	109	35.3
Get along with peers	215	69.8
Set a good example	3	1.0
Be active	1	0.3
No expectations	—	—
Other	35	10.8
Total*	798	—

*Parents could give as many responses as they wished. Therefore, total responses do not correspond to the sample size.

Table III-24 Reasons Given by Los Angeles Parents for Their Child's Attitude Toward School

	Positive		Negative	
Reason	N	%	N	%
Teacher	76	23.5	1	0.3
School activities	78	24.1	1	0.3
School subjects	72	22.2	1	0.3
Friends	124	38.3	2	0.6
Other				
Child is sociable	17	5.2	—	--
Child is confident	10	3.1	—	—
Too much homework	—	—	—	—
Bullying children	—	—	3	0.9
Language problem	—	—	16	4.9
Other (neutral)			N = 111	
Don't know (neutral)	—	—	—	—

*The 324 respondents could give as many responses as they wished. The percentages are of the total number of respondents in each group.

they frequently or always look over the work their children bring home from school, and 82.4% feel it is the school's responsibility to see to the child's academic problems. Thus, the parents clearly see themselves and the schools as active partners in the educational process.

However, the parents also feel that the school has an important role to play in the child's social development. As Table III-23 shows, the parents have several expectations for their children's behavior in school, but "getting along with peers" is the most often expressed expectation. Also, most parents (89.0%) saw their children's attitudes toward school as enthusiastic or happy, and the parents tended to see their children's friends as the most important factor in this positive attitude toward school (Table III-24).

These findings are somewhat different from what was predicted on the basis of informal observations in Korean-American communities. It had been expected that the parents would be primarily concerned with their children's cognitive and academic development. While the parents do in fact expect the schools to have a serious academic mission, the study clearly shows that the parents place a high value on their children's affective education and social development. This is important because, as we note elsewhere in this report, there is a relationship between the children's English fluency and their social experience in school, and, further, the parents hold often ambivalent attitudes toward their children's acquisition and

Table III-25 Los Angeles Parents' Perceptions of Problems Encountered by Their Child during the Past School Year

Problem	Number of Responses	% of Respondents
Speaking English	143	47.9
Reading English	149	48.5
Trouble with academic work because of English	114	37.1
Problems with the teacher	35	11.4
Problems with classmates	49	16.0
No problems	8	2.6
Other	4	1.3
Total*	502	
Total respondents = 307		

*Respondents could give as many responses as they wished. Therefore totals do not correspond to sample size. Percentages are calculated on the total number of respondents in each group, not on total number of responses.

Table III-26 Most Difficult Thing for Los Angeles Children to Do in U.S. Schools

Activity	Number of Children	% of Children
Math	37	12.0
English (reading)	114	37.0
Spelling	40	13.0
Science	11	3.6
Social studies	22	7.1
Socializing	5	1.6
Nothing is hard	57	18.5
Don't know	—	—
Other	22	7.1
Total	308	100.0

use of English. Thus the high value the parents place on the social and affective components of their children's education may be another factor that the parents must take into account in setting priorities and expectations for their children.

THE CHILDREN'S SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

Table III-25 shows the parents' perceptions of the problems encountered by the children during the preceding academic year, while Table III-26 shows the children's perceptions of their own difficulties at school. Both the parents and the children see the greatest problems in areas, such as reading and spelling, that are strongly related to English fluency. One difference between parents' and children's perceptions, however, is that the parents tended to concentrate on the problem of English fluency, while the children had a greater diversity of perceived problems; this may reflect the parents' own concern over the problems of mastering English. The children's reports of what they like and dislike are less clearly defined in terms of the English fluency component, probably reflecting a wide range of personal preferences, as well as differences in the way in which different activities are presented in different classrooms. However, it is interesting to note in Table III-27 that the most favored activities are mathematics, and arts and crafts, two areas requiring less English proficiency. The dislikes in Table III-28 are more scattered yet, although English stands out somewhat, and a surprising number of children are disturbed by bullying children or "teachers who scream."

The parents seem generally to take an active interest in their children's school experience. Most of the children (70.4%) reported that one or both parents provided help with homework, and fully 99.7% said that one or both parents had visited school. In most cases (71.9%)

Table III-27 What Los Angeles Children Like Best in School

Activity	Number of Children	% of Children
Play period	35	11.5
Sports/gym	8	2.6
Math	94	30.9
English (reading)	42	13.8
Music	13	4.3
Spelling	16	5.3
Arts/crafts	62	20.4
Science	4	1.3
Other	30	9.9
Total	304	100.0

Table III-28 What Los Angeles Children Dislike About School

Activity	Number of Children	% of Children
Play period	12	3.9
Sports/gym	10	3.2
Math	12	3.9
English	31	10.1
Music	4	1.3
Spelling	7	2.3
Arts/crafts	5	1.6
Science	6	1.9
Social studies	9	2.9
Bullying children/screaming teachers	64	20.8
Don't know	2	0.6
Nothing child dislikes	102	33.1
Other	44	14.1
Total	308	100.0

the teachers perceived the parents in the study as having positive attitudes toward the child's school experience; only 2.4% were characterized as "not caring," while in the remainder of cases the teachers felt that they did not know enough about the parents to make a judgment.

CHILDREN'S ATTITUDES

Although the child questionnaire did not ask direct attitudinal questions, a number of items have attitudinal components that reflect cultural preferences or cultural givens in the children's lives. When asked to name their favorite food, 44.0% of the Los Angeles children named Korean items, while 27.7% named American foods, and 28.3% insisted on a combination of items from both cultures or named items common to both. Likewise, when asked to give the place they would most like to go, 47.7% named Korea or places in Korea, 18.8% named U.S. cities other than Los Angeles, 14% opted for "fun places," and 5.9% named other places. This suggests that Korea has positive connotations for many of these children. The responses to these two items seem to point to a fairly strong identification with Korean culture, a finding somewhat at variance with the informal observations of many Korean-American parents. Some parents commented, for example, that they were sure their child's favorite food was the hamburger and that the place s/he would most like to visit would be Disneyland.

The children's choices of the persons they would most like to emulate also seem to follow a pattern that may be more Korean than American. The most popular choices were scientists (30.9%), teachers or professors (16.8%), and parents or siblings (14.8%). The choices that tend to be the most popular among American children (General Mills, 1977) were not often chosen by the Korean children in the study: 7.9% named policemen or firemen, while only 6.9%

Table III-29 Nationality of Best Friends at School for Los Angeles Children

Nationality	Number of Children	% of Children
Korean	196	63.6
American	77	25.0
Both	24	7.8
Other minority group	10	3.2
Has no "best friend"	1	0.3
Total	308	100.0

Table III-30 Nationality of Playmates After School for Los Angeles Children

Nationality	Number of Children	% of Children
Korean only	179	58.5
American only	31	10.1
Korean and American	45	14.7
Other minority groups	18	5.9
No playmates	33	10.8
Total	306	100.0

named athletes or actors. This may be a reflection of cultural factors in the children's career choices: athletes and actors are accorded very low status in Korean society, while the view of the police is extremely negative or even hostile.

Ethnicity. Korean cultural influences remain strong in the lives of the children studied; 72.6% reported that they always spoke Korean with their parents, while 25.7% used Korean together with some English, although the amount of English may be very limited. Only 1.6% nearly always spoke English, and these may be the only homes in the study where the use of English may be presumed to assist the child's language acquisition. These figures should be compared with the teachers' reports, which indicate that 63.1% of the children in the study have little or no trouble with English in the classroom; the children apparently continue to communicate with their parents primarily in Korean either because it is culturally expected, because the parents' English fluency is lower, or perhaps because of a combination of these factors. As we have noted earlier, conducting intra-family communication in Korean may be extremely important in maintaining family roles and relationships.

To a large extent, the peer groups and social milieu of the children are also Korean. As Tables III-29 and III-30 show, most of the children's "best friends" at school are Korean, and a majority of the children play only with other Korean children after school. Most of the children (65.3%) are known by Korean or anglicized Korean first names at school, while 34.1% are known by English first names. (These percentages correspond very closely with the findings in Chicago.) This suggests that the Los Angeles children, and their parents, may be relatively reluctant to give up Korean first names. Perhaps this tendency is related to the relatively large amount of social contact these children have with other Korean children, both in and out of school, as a result of the very large number of Korean-American children in Los Angeles.

Overall, this complex of social and linguistic conditions in the home, school, and community is a strong precondition for the development of a bilingual/bicultural orientation in this group of children. If the children become predominantly monolingual in English the result is almost certain to be alienation from both family and peer groups. It seems clear from both attitudinal items and the pattern of Korean usage in the home that the parents lean strongly toward the continued use of Korean for intra-ethnic communication. If English were to become the children's dominant language, then the parents would largely be lost to the children as role models; the parent/child relationship as it is now constituted in the Korean family would be undermined, and, in consequence, the parents would largely be lost as a parenting resource in their children's lives.

It is less clear what the effect on Korean peer group relations would be if these children were to become monolingual in English. It is well to remember, however, that the Los Angeles Korean-American community is a large one, and that it has a well defined ethnic community area. Whether they are dominant in Korean or English, most of these children will spend at least part of their lives in a predominantly Korean neighborhood. Also, because they are a visible minority, there will be some limitations on the degree to which they can merge with majority (non-Korean) peer groups. It seems clear, then, that the strength of both home and peer group relationships may depend upon developing a bilingual/bicultural orientation that preserves the essential language-based aspects of the ethnic culture, while at the same time satisfying the need to live, study, and work productively in a largely non-Korean environment.

Discrimination. Although the children's school experience appears mostly to be a happy one, there are some reports of discrimination, name-calling, or being picked on, and social difficulties the child perceived to be the result of his/her Korean ethnicity. Most of the parents (78.8%) said their children had never complained of discrimination at school, but 20.3% reported that their children had encountered discrimination by other children at school, and in three cases (1.0%) the parents said that school personnel were reported to have discriminated against the child. When the children were asked directly about discriminatory acts at school, they reported a higher incidence than was reported by the parents; 36.4% said they were "picked on or called bad names," while 30.6% said that they had trouble at school because they were Korean. It is recognized that the items in the child questionnaire may not be accurate measures of discriminatory behavior, but the incidence reported by the children seems reasonable, since it is higher than that reported by the parents, but not drastically so.

Some of the behavior that the children perceive as discriminatory may be only general rowdiness; this hypothesis is supported by the fact that the children seem to be particularly sensitive to the bullying behavior in the school environment. On the other hand, the children's specific descriptions of the "trouble" they encountered as a result of their ethnicity are perfectly plausible: 67.0% of those who reported trouble said this was because of language, presumably reflecting both social and academic problems stemming from less-than-perfect fluency in English. Other problem areas were definitely discriminatory; 14.8% of those children reporting trouble said the other children called them Chinese with derogatory intent, while 18.2% reported a miscellany of discriminatory acts.

There was some discrepancy between the reactions of the parents and children to discriminatory acts, although the difference was not significant. The trends in the raw data indicate that the parents tended to recommend passive responses to the child: comforting the child or telling him/her to ignore the problem (27.9%), telling the child to try to get along (22.1%), or planning to move away from the neighborhood where the trouble had occurred. The parents told the child to fight back in 10.3% of those cases where the child reported discrimination, while 8.8% told the child to overcome discrimination by excelling in school, a response which is nominally active but which should perhaps be classified as passive since it is indirect and does not directly address the problem. These findings are in accord with Asian ethical systems, in which passive responses are considered stronger than active responses and which emphasize the careful matching of responses to the nature and extent of the provocation.

On the other hand, the children usually seemed to choose active responses to discriminatory behavior: 50.0% of those who said they had been picked on or called names reported that they had responded by fighting back, while 19.3% had at least told the teacher. Passive responses were less frequent: 17.5% said their response was to say nothing, while 13.2% said they ignored the behavior or tried to avoid situations where it was likely to occur. This difference in the response trends of the parents and children may indicate that the children are beginning to adopt cultural norms that are different from those of their parents, presumably as a result of the children's contact with the public school environment where self-assertiveness is emphasized.

Expectations. There also appeared to be some discrepancy between parent and child perceptions of the children's academic progress in school, although the differences were not significant when considered on a case-by-case basis. While 74.2% of the Los Angeles children feel that they are meeting their parents' academic expectations, only 59.9% of the parents reported that they were either satisfied or very satisfied with their children's academic progress. According to an educational consultant to the project, this discrepancy is approximately the same as would be observed between American majority culture parents and their children.*

In both Los Angeles and Chicago there was an apparent difference between how the parents perceived their children's school progress and how the children thought their parents perceived it. In both cases, the differences were nonsignificant, although, interestingly, the trends were in the opposite directions at the two sites: Chicago children thought they were not doing as well as their parents expected, while the Los Angeles children had a more positive evaluation of themselves than their parents had of them. The greater confidence in self-evaluation shown by the Los Angeles children may result from being a much larger minority than the Chicago Korean-American children.

Aspirations. As Tables III-31, III-32, and III-33 show, the Los Angeles children tended to aspire to professional level careers, and their parents also tended to express professional level career aspirations for their children. Furthermore, the children tended to perceive that their parents wanted them to enter professional level careers.

Table III-31 How Los Angeles Children Perceive Their Parents' Career Aspirations for Them

Perceived Career Aspiration	Number of Children	% of Children
MD/lawyer	108	35.5
Scientist	23	7.6
Other professional careers	29	9.5
Minister	7	2.3
Athlete/actor	2	0.7
Teacher/professor	17	5.6
Politician	1	0.3
Other	21	6.9
Don't know	96	31.6
Total	304	100.0

Table III-32 Los Angeles Parents' Career Aspirations for Their Children

Career Aspiration	Number of Parents	% of Parents
MD/lawyer	114	37.0
Scientist	38	12.3
Other professional careers	66	21.4
Minister	9	2.9
Housewife	14	4.5
Other*	55	17.9
Don't know, no aspiration	12	3.9
Total	308	100.0

*Includes non-specific aspirations such as "a useful citizen," "whatever s/he wants to be," etc.

Separate analyses of variance were not run for the Los Angeles sample, but analyses of variances for the combined Chicago and Los Angeles groups suggest that there are varying degrees of concurrence and disagreement between parent and child on these three variables. For example, a little over half (56.7%) of the children named career aspirations that were the same as those expressed for them by their parents. In a larger proportion of cases (81.5%), the children's reports of what they thought their parents wanted them to be were in agreement with their parents' responses. This suggests that the parents are

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*Bernard Spodek, professor of elementary and early childhood education, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, private communication, 1978.

Table III-33 Career Aspirations of Los Angeles Children

Career Aspiration	Number of Children	% of Children
MD/lawyer	73	24.4
Scientist	28	9.4
Other professional person	55	18.4
Minister	6	2.0
Athlete/actor	20	6.7
Teacher/professor	61	20.4
Policeman/fireman	34	11.4
Politician	8	3.0
Don't know	13	4.3
Total	299	100.0

being very explicit in making their desires known to their children, but that not all children hold the same aspirations for themselves. Of those children who did express the same aspirations as their parents, there is of course no way to tell whether they are simply mirroring parental opinion, or are actually drawn to the career. However, the clarity with which the children perceive their parents' aspirations for them suggests that in at least some cases the children are shaping their own career aspirations in accordance with parental pressures, or at least as a result of parental wishes. In some instances this may be a source of conflict between parent and child.

In all three tables, professional careers predominate, and this professional category is realistically diversified, including scientists, teachers, professors, ministers, and other professional persons in addition to the archetypal professions of physicians and lawyers. As in the case of the persons whom the child would most like to emulate, discussed earlier, the children's career aspirations do not include many responses in the athlete/actor or politician categories, probably because these careers have low status in Korean society. Finally, as was the case in Chicago, not a single female child aspired to be a mother or housewife, while fully 23 percent of the girls in the General Mills survey had these aspirations. This may reflect the high labor force participation of the mothers in the study. In comparison to the Chicago sample, a slightly higher percentage (.8) of parents had aspirations for their daughters to be housewives. In both instances the total percentage is extremely low (3.7 and 4.5). In any case, the children's aspirations, taken together with the workforce participation of their mothers, should serve to explode the myth that all Asian women are home bound.

HOME-SCHOOL INTERACTION

However, despite the evident parental interest in the child's school experience, the interaction and communication between school and home appears often to be rudimentary or infrequent. For example, although 201 families (65% of the Los Angeles sample) reported that their children had encountered one or more academic or social problems during the preceding school year, only 14 families (6.7%) had responded by contacting the child's teacher to talk about the problems (Table III-34). The most usual response, tutoring or talking with the child (56.2%), involves only home resources, and 36.8% of the parents had either done nothing or were still trying to think of what to do.

It should be noted that when compared to Chicago the Los Angeles teacher resources are greater. For example, bilingual teacher aides are readily available in Los Angeles. As a result, communications from the school to the parents can be made in Korean.

Contacts initiated by the teacher were somewhat more frequent, although there is some disagreement as to the true frequency: 13.6% of the parents said they had been contacted, but 55.9% of the teachers claimed to have contacted the parents one or more times, excluding regular parent-teacher conferences. There is no readily apparent explanation for this discrepancy, although it may be that the teachers are recalling casual contacts, while the parents are recalling only those instances in which the teacher had contacted them about a serious problem. Also, teachers usually regard sending a note home with the child as a form of contact. Korean-American parents may not recognize this as a contact, as evidenced by the fact that sending notes home from school has proved to be an extremely unreliable contact procedure for researchers attempting to reach a Korean-American parent group

Table III-34 Action Taken by Los Angeles Parents to Help Solve Their Child's Problems at School

Action	Number of Responses	% of Families Responding*	% of Responses
Talked to teacher	14	7.8	6.9
Tutored the child	78	43.3	38.4
Talked with the child	35	19.4	17.2
Still thinking of what to do	37	20.6	18.2
Did nothing	37	20.3	18.2
Other	2	1.1	1.0
Total	203**	100.0	100.0

*The 180 families reporting specific problems were asked this question.

**Parents were allowed to name more than one action taken.

Table III-35 Reasons Given by Los Angeles Parents for Contact by Their Child's Teacher

Reason	Number of Responses	% of Responses
Child was not listening to the teacher	4	8.2
Poor school work	12	24.5
Child had difficulty in communicating	3	6.1
Good school work	2	4.1
Other	28	57.1
Total	49*	100.0

*A total of 42 families reported that they had been contacted by the child's teacher; however, parents were allowed to report more than one reason for contact.

(Kim, Sawdey, and Chung, 1979). In most cases where the teacher had contacted the parents, it was to report problems the child was having at school (Table III-35).

Parent attendance at parent-teacher conferences appears to be moderate: exactly half of those parents whose children attend schools where regular conferences are scheduled had attended one or more conferences during the preceding year. It should be noted that some schools no longer have routine parent-teacher conferences. Instead, conferences at these schools are initiated only when the parent or teacher feels that there is a problem to resolve.

Those parents who attended parent-teacher conferences generally found them helpful (52.8%) or very helpful (33.6%); 11.2% found them not very helpful, and 1.6% said the conferences were not helpful at all. Most of the parents who did not find the conferences helpful blamed the language barrier.

Parents who had failed to attend any of the scheduled parent-teacher conferences were asked why this was so. In most cases, the reply was that there had been a schedule conflict (49.3%), or that the respondent had been "busy and tired" (18.7%). This is perhaps to be expected, since in most families both parents are employed full time outside the home. In 25.3% of the cases the parents said they had not attended because they saw no possible benefit in view of the language barrier. This suggests that it may be useful to have bilingual persons available to interpret between parents and teachers at conferences. Not only would this increase the usefulness of the conferences to the parents, but it might also encourage more parents to attend.

Parent attendance at PTA meetings was somewhat higher than at parent-teacher conferences: 60.5% had attended one or more meetings, 32.7% had not attended, and 6.8% said there were no meetings to attend at their school. Those who attended generally found the meetings helpful (57.2%) or very helpful (29.4%). Those who did not find the meetings helpful most often blamed the language barrier (64.0%); a very few others felt the topics covered were not relevant, or said there was no chance to ask questions, or that they did not feel welcome.

The language barrier is also a significant problem in communicating with school personnel in general: of 140 families (45.5% of the Los Angeles sample) that reported this

Table III-36 Los Angeles Parents' Understanding of Official School Notes

Category	Number of Parents	% of Parents
Able to understand?		
Yes	269	87.1
No	39	12.6
Not applicable	1	0.3
Total	309	100.0
If not, who helped?		
Father	7	18.0
Friend	6	15.4
Relative	6	15.4
Neighbor	7	17.9
Older sibling	13	33.3
Total	39	100.0

Table III-37 Los Angeles Family Member Who Generally Contacts School and Teacher

Contact Person	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Mother	108	35.4
Father	113	37.0
Older sibling	13	4.3
Mother and father together	40	13.1
Other	20	6.6
Not applicable	11	3.6
Total	305	100.0

problem, all blamed the language barrier, while only 2.8% named any other reason for the difficulty. Also, 12.6% of the sample said they had difficulty understanding official notes sent home from school--likely because the notes were in English. The remainder did understand the notes because many of the Los Angeles schools regularly provide Korean versions.

Thus it appears, from a number of measures, that the language barrier may be an important limiting factor in the home-school interaction of non-native Korean-American families in Los Angeles. At the present time, those parents who have difficulty managing the interaction because of low English fluency must generally make use of private and informal resources in order to overcome this obstacle. Table III-36 shows the resources utilized by parents who could not understand school notes, while Table III-37 shows the individuals usually responsible for contact with the school. It is possible that the school-home interaction would be facilitated if bilingual resource persons were made available formally at schools having large numbers of non-native Korean-American children in attendance, and if the parents and teachers were aware that this resource was available to them to facilitate communication and interaction. An alternative approach is to seek out informal resource persons in the Korean-American community, provide these persons with informational materials to help them facilitate the contact of others with the schools, and provide teachers with lists of these persons who can assist the parents when necessary. These informal contact persons are often ministers of ethnic churches, professional persons, or other persons with social or educational status in the ethnic community.

In conclusion, there appears to be a moderate degree of school-home communication, and in general the parents who have contact with the teachers and the PTA have found these contacts to be useful. However, it appears that somewhere around a fifth to a fourth of the parents have virtually no contact with the schools, and about a third of the parents say they do not feel familiar with their children's school experience. These findings should be considered in light of the parents' rather high expectations of their children in school. It is important to ask whether the existing level of communication and interaction is adequate to satisfy parental expectations. Finally, the data suggest that there are two areas of approach that may be helpful in improving school-home interaction. First, because of the language difficulty and the large number of Korean-American children in the schools, bilingual facilitators are needed, working on a formal basis in the schools. Second, because most Korean-American families have both parents employed full time outside the home, it may be useful to explore innovative ways of scheduling conferences and meetings to fall within the time constraints of the parents' work schedules and to provide a bilingual staff for such meetings.

CULTURAL CONFLICT AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

A number of items on the three questionnaires in the study probed the area of cultural conflict between parent and child, especially with respect to the child's school experience. One open-ended item asked the parents to comment directly on whether or not such cultural conflict had occurred, with the results shown in Table III-38. The parents named many sources and types of actual or expected conflict; among 309 responses, 35 categories can be identified. The parent responses have been grouped into gross categories so that the general areas of parent perception can be seen. It is of some interest that only about one family in eight neither perceived nor expected conflict. On the other hand, about a third of the parents said they felt the school experience had produced cultural conflicts between them and their children. By far the largest group of parents (54.0%) had not perceived overt conflict with their children, but either expected that such conflict would eventually occur or were worried about the possibility. Many of the parents who expected or worried about conflict had specific ideas about the area or areas in which they felt the conflict would occur.

Table III-38 Los Angeles Parents' Perceptions of Whether or Not Their Child's School Experience Has Caused Cultural Conflict with Parents

Response	Number of Parents	% of Parents
No conflict perceived or expected	39	12.6
Not yet, but expect it	133	43.0
Not yet, but worried about it	34	11.0
Conflict perceived	102	33.0
Other	1	0.3
Total	309	100.0

Because of the large number of reasons, and combinations of reasons, the parents gave for perceived or expected conflict, it is difficult to make a simple statement about the nature of the conflict. However, some general factors can be observed. Language conflicts between parent and child appear to be a concern, and this is an important matter because, in this situation, a language conflict is actually a far-reaching cultural conflict. Switching the family communication to the child's preferred language--English--undermines parental authority, and may be threatening to the family structure because English lacks the built-in signals of hierarchical relationships that are explicitly conveyed in Korean. Indeed, the child may wish to use English to support his or her own acculturation resulting from the school experience, thus emphasizing the growing cultural distance between parent and child. The children in the study have a fair-to-good overall command of English, while the parents tended to be in the fair-to-poor range. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the children may sometimes lose patience with their parents' lower English fluency, resulting in disruption of the normal parent-child relationship. Alternatively, the parents may try to enforce more use of Korean than the child would prefer in the home environment, which may cause resentment on the part of the child.

Another general area of conflict seems to arise from the parents' contradictory expectations about whether their children should retain or reject various cultural traits or outlooks. This inconsistency was noted in the parent attitudinal items on the questionnaire. It appears that the parents may be upset because they must deal with the acculturation of their children--often by having to make hard choices about their own cultural preferences.

Some other areas of conflict centered on specific areas in the child's acculturation--parents felt their children were becoming selfish or disobedient (traits the parents identified as "American"), or that the children were simply becoming "too Americanized." Responses such as these suggest that the children may be starting to learn certain types of self-assertion that are both expected and necessary in the American public school environment. To the parents, however, these traits may constitute willful disobedience when judged in terms of Korean cultural expectations for child behavior. It should be noted, however, that the proportion of responses in these categories is relatively small, suggesting that when the parents perceive or expect conflict with their children they are viewing the conflict in broad cultural terms.

The large number of parents who expect conflict may in part be based on the respondents' observations of problems encountered by long-term residents with adolescent children. More Los Angeles respondents than Chicago respondents expected or feared conflict, perhaps simply because the larger Los Angeles Korean-American community offers more opportunities to observe such conflict in other families.

Cross tabulations were run to determine which factors, if any, might be correlated with perceived cultural conflict between parent and child. It is of some interest that parent reports of cultural conflict correlated most strongly ($\underline{p} = < .05$) with reports of absence of problems between the child and his/her teacher and classmates. That is, children who were perceived by their parents to have adopted American cultural traits were generally having fewer problems with their teachers and classmates in school, while, conversely, children who were perceived not to have adopted American cultural traits tended to have more difficulties with their teachers and classmates. This appears to indicate that what the parents are objecting to is in fact the children's acculturation to the American school environment. On the other hand, there was no significant statistical correlation between parent-child conflict and the presence or absence of various language-based academic problems that were reported. However, as with the social problems, language-based academic problems and parent-child conflict moved in the same direction.

These findings suggest that it may be the process of the child's adjustment to the social values and behavioral expectations of the American school environment that leads to cultural conflicts between parent and child. The parental reports of all school problems, both academic and social, decreased significantly with increased length of residence in the United States. Thus it appears that the children are undergoing a steady process of academic and social adjustment to the American public school experience and that this adjustment is evident to the parents in terms of decreased academic and social problems. On the other hand, there is no overall correlation between length of residence and the parents' perception of conflict.

It should be noted that in the Chicago sample a relationship was found between length of U.S. residence and perception of conflict. The lack of such a correlation in the Los Angeles data may be due to the fact that the Los Angeles sample is slightly more recently arrived in the United States and that there is less variation in length of U.S. residence among the Los Angeles respondents (mean U.S. residence 2.4 years, S.D. = .916, versus 2.5 years and S.D. = 1.048 for the Chicago sample); this may have masked any time effect that might have been presented. Also, the larger Los Angeles Korean-American community may afford more opportunities for parents to perceive the difficulties involved in cultural adjustment; this could make the time effect less dramatic, since the difficulties and conflicts are not simply imagined but experienced vicariously through the problems experienced by others.

MAINTAINING AND DISCARDING CULTURAL TRAITS

In the attitudinal section of the questionnaire the parents were asked to respond to various items concerning selected Korean and American cultural traits that children might have to retain or discard. Parent attitudes toward these traits may have implications for parent-child relations in a situation where the child is exposed to the American cultural context of the public school for a large portion of each day. Table III-39 shows the parents' preferences for having their children adopt or avoid American cultural traits, while Table III-40 covers retention or rejection of Korean cultural traits.

A comparison of the related traits in the two tables suggests that the Los Angeles parents in the sample may hold seemingly contradictory attitudes toward various aspects of Korean and American cultures. For example, 56.8% say they would prefer to have their children speak English exclusively, but 99.7% also wish to retain extensive use of Korean. Likewise, every respondent in the Los Angeles sample opted for "candid expression of

Table III-39 Los Angeles Parents' Preference for Their Children Adopting or Avoiding Certain American Cultural Traits

	Adopt		Neutral		Avoid	
American Cultural Trait	N	%	N	%	N	%
Speak English exclusively	175	56.8	18	5.8	115	37.3
Self-reliance in problem solving	298	96.8	1	0.3	9	2.9
Social assertiveness	272	88.3	6	1.9	30	9.7
Being more open about thoughts and feelings	308	100.0	–	–	–	–
Develop more individuality	304	98.7	1	0.3	3	1.0
Emphasize nuclear family	204	66.2	9	2.9	95	30.8
Meet problems head-on*	3	–	4	–	2	–
Respect rights of children*	4	–	–	–	–	–
Respect rights of others*	–	–	–	–	–	–
Excessive contact with opposite sex*	2	–	–	–	–	–
Loud music*	–	–	–	–	–	–

*These items were not listed in the questionnaire, but were volunteered by parents. Because of the small numbers, no percentages have been calculated.

Table III-40 Los Angeles Parents' Preference for Their Children Maintaining or Discarding Certain Korean Cultural Traits

	Maintain		Neutral		Discard	
Korean Cultural Trait	N	%	N	%	N	%
Extensive use of Korean language	307	99.7	1	0.3	–	–
Obedience to elders	301	97.7	4	1.2	3	1.0
Respect for authority	260	84.4	7	2.3	41	13.3
Politeness in social situations	305	99.0	1	0.3	2	0.6
Self-sacrifice	255	87.8	15	4.9	38	12.3
Modesty about one's accomplishments	291	94.5	3	1.0	14	4.5
Maintaining face	128	41.6	22	7.1	158	51.3
Emphasis on extended family	116	37.7	12	3.9	180	58.4
Respect for parents*	8	–	–	–	–	–
Celebrating Korean holidays*	–	–	–	–	–	–
Other*	18	–	–	–	–	–

*These items were not listed in the questionnaire, but were volunteered by parents. Because of the small number, no percentages have been calculated.

thoughts and feelings," but 41.6% wish to retain the Korean characteristic of face-saving, which entails not expressing one's personal feelings. Varying degrees of apparent contradiction can also be observed in some other pairs of items from the tables, such as social assertiveness versus modesty about one's accomplishments. One can hypothesize that the Los Angeles parents may simultaneously feel a strong utilitarian pressure to adopt various traits that are important for survival and success in American society and strong social pressures within the ethnic community to retain various cultural traits closely tied to Korean identity. These apparently contradictory pressures are another indication that the cultural adaption of Korean Americans must ultimately move in a bilingual/bicultural direction. The parents' strong, positive orientation toward aspects of both cultures suggests that they would prefer that their children incorporate at least some of these items into a bicultural identity.

Although both the Los Angeles and Chicago respondents sometimes expressed attitudes toward language use that contained underlying contradictions, there was an important difference in the two groups. In both communities, over 99% of the respondents said they would like their children to retain extensive use of Korean; however, only 18.4% of the Chicago respondents held the contradictory view that their children should speak English exclusively, while 56.8% of the Los Angeles parents expressed this view. One possible explanation for this difference is that the greater size of the Los Angeles community gives the Los Angeles respondents a feeling of safety in numbers, making them feel less threatened by the prospect that their children may turn out to be predominantly English speaking. A smaller community such as that in Chicago may develop a more defensive attitude and hence demand more group cohesiveness from its members in such areas as language choice. Another way in which the greater size of the Los Angeles Korean community could have the same effect is that, in a very large ethnic enclave, the parents may realize that the only way their children will develop English proficiency is by using the language outside of the ethnic community. In a smaller ethnic community, conversely, the parents may be more concerned to preserve the use of the ethnic language, since the children will inevitably spend so much of their time in contact with the outside, English-speaking community.

When evaluating apparent contradictions in attitudes such as those shown by the parents in the area of language choice it is important to recognize that the parents themselves probably do not experience any difficulty in deciding which contexts call for either English or Korean. In a mainstream work situation they will use the English which is demanded of the context. Likewise, in relating to an elderly Korean immigrant who may place great value on the vertical relationship (and respect) implicit in the language structure they will necessarily use the ethnic language. It is in the great range between these extremes that ambiguities and choice enter in. Here, the parents have no difficulty in acting upon their learned sense of the expectations of both cultures and intuitively make choices about which language and accompanying behavior is more appropriate or is preferred in each situational context. The child, however, does not have such a clear sense of the expectations of each culture. These must be clarified and defined by the parents so that the child has a good understanding that different situational contexts definitely require different responses from the individual. If the individual chooses to be bicultural, then he/she must make choices and compromises in various cultural areas, as well as learn to shift and adjust behavior on the basis of the situational context. Even under the best of circumstances this process of choice and compromise will lead the individual into some degree of marginality, since it is not always possible to satisfy the conflicting demands of two distinct cultures. Those individuals who do not fully consider the choices and compromises on the conscious level may remain in a condition of confused and unclear priorities and expectations. If parents transmit this confusion to their children it may become an added source of difficulty in the child's process of cultural adjustment, since it is normal for a child to rely on the parents' choices and expectations as a model for socialization.

Since the parents' feelings about their children's cultural adoption and rejection are largely, if not wholly, unconscious, the parents are quite likely to give conflicting signals to their child concerning cultural choices and preferences. This is particularly difficult for the child because the parents are usually unaware that the child has not gone through the same experiences of acculturation and socialization that they have experienced. The parents have been completely socialized in one culture and then had this experience partially displaced and altered through a process of socialization to a second, very different culture. On the other hand, the child is still going through his or her initial experience of cultural socialization--only, in the midst of the process, the single context of the native culture has been replaced by a dual culture. It appears that the function of research such as that conducted here may ultimately be to assist the parents in understanding their own process of re-acculturation and cultural choice making, as well as to help them understand the different, and in some ways more complex, process that the child is undergoing. The parents' understanding of the need for conscious choices between aspects of two cultures should help them provide the special type of parenting required in this situation.

In effect, the children in the Korean-American community have a dual heritage, which can be maintained, provided thay have the right sort of help and encouragement from their parents and from the school and community environments. The children need to develop confidence that they can maintain their bicultural orientation--that cultural adoption or rejection is not a simple either/or proposition, although there are often hard, conscious choices to be made. The alternative to developing a bicultural orientation is that these children will lose their ethnic cultural roots and probably be alienated from their parents. On the other hand, remaining monoculturally Korean and rejecting American culture wholesale is likely to mean that their life prospects in America will be extremely limited. In any case, no matter what course they choose, it is essential that the children take an active part in the choices determining their future and not be passive participants.

PARENTS' ATTITUDES

The transitional state of the parents' own expectations was also evident from their responses to various attitudinal items concerning their own cultural attitudes. For example, 90.3% of the fathers and 94.3% of the mothers felt that their children should be taught about Korean culture for the children's self-identity, while fully 69.4% of the fathers and 67.0% of the mothers felt that the schools should help their children become more American (most of the remaining responses were neutral). Operationally, this situation may either create cultural conflict, since the home and school may have different sets of expectations, or it may be the basis for guiding the children toward a strong and rich biculturality. There is ample reason for believing that the latter course could be pursued; 90.7% of the fathers and 93.8% of the mothers said thay felt that the advantages of having two languages and two cultures outweighed the disadvantages. The parents seem clearly to want a bilingual/bicultural orientation for their children, although they have not worked out clearly how this should be achieved: 91.8% of the fathers and 87.6% of the mothers agreed that Korean cultural heritage snould be taught mainly in the home, but 73.1% of the fathers and 74.7% of the mothers also agreed that a bilingual program at school was a good place for this cultural learning to take place. This is not necessarily an insurmountable problem: one suspects that further probing would reveal that the parents have more detailed preferences about what should be taught where. However, the findings do suggest that there should be considerable input from parents in the planning of bilingual/bicultural programs for Korean-American children: it is important that there be a clear understanding between school, home, and teacher as to the content and approach of the programs, both for the sake of consistency and to preserve the important parental role in cultural acquisition.

Some parents also expressed reluctance about their children's social relations with American children. While 86.8% of the fathers and 90.3% of the mothers said they would urge their children to accept an invitation to play at the house of an American friend, 24.0% of the fathers and 26.5% of the mothers said they did not approve of their children inviting American friends to their house to play. Some respondents commented that they did not want their children's American friends to see the cramped and shabby apartments in which they lived. Others noted that the strong smell of Korean cooking was a source of embarrassment when non-ethnic persons visited them. Some of this reluctance to have American children visit will probably disappear as the respondents improve their economic condition and move to better housing. In the meantime, however, this may be an area in which parents need to reassure their children, since it is important that the children not come to identify the ethnic culture as a culture of poverty.

TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS

The teacher questionnaire covered cognitive and behavioral observations on the children together with various aspects of the home-school interaction, as viewed by the teachers. In addition, the Los Angeles teachers were asked to comment on their inservice and informational needs about Korean-American children. These open-ended items were added to the questionnaire because many teachers interviewed in Chicago had expressed an interest in receiving information from the study.

Table III-41 shows the teachers' rankings of the subject children on a number of behavioral and developmental dimensions. Overall, the Korean-American children received quite high ranks, although there are clearly some differences in their performance in various areas. For example, it should be noted that the greatest numbers of reports of children who need improvement occur in areas that are heavily language based (contributions to discussions, expressing ideas, word attack skills, word memory, and comprehension). This suggests that, although the teachers reported only 14.9% of the children to have "definite problems" with English, the fluency levels of many of the other children may have an impact on their academic work. One should realize, however, that success in these areas depends, in part, on the child's confidence: a sense of familiarity with the school's expectations and a feeling of comfort in the school environment can be very important.

Table III-41 Los Angeles Teachers' Ranking of Subject Children

	*Ranking (Adjusted Percentages)**		
Developmental/Behavioral Dimension	Outstanding	Satisfactory	Needs Improvement
Participation in group activities	41.7	49.5	8.8
Maturity	40.3	45.8	13.9
Respect for rights and opinions of others	57.1	37.1	5.8
Use of own ideas	39.7	51.5	8.8
Handling of responsibility	62.0	29.8	8.1
Self-control	49.3	37.2	13.5
Ability to plan work independently	49.2	37.3	13.6
Ability to work with others	51.4	43.2	5.4
Use of time and materials	52.2	40.3	7.1
Neatness and care of work	62.6	29.3	8.2
Attentiveness (listening to learn)	54.7	34.8	10.5
Following oral directions	51.4	37.4	11.2
Contributions to discussion and planning	29.9	47.8	22.3
Ability to express ideas	25.8	46.4	27.5
Use of word attack skills	28.2	49.5	22.0
Word memory	38.1	47.1	14.8
Comprehension	31.7	47.2	21.0
Up to class level in mathematics	59.8	34.6	5.5
Experimentation with creative materials in art	45.7	51.2	3.1
Participation in songs, rhythm, and listening	36.2	57.0	6.8

*On some items, a few teachers felt they had had insufficient experience with some children to make a judgment. In these instances, the teachers replied "not applicable" to the item in question. The percentages shown were calculated after removal of the NA responses.

Some aspects of oral English are apparently less of a problem, since far fewer children were seen as needing improvement in the areas of attentiveness and following oral directions.

It is of some interest that moderate numbers of children were reported to need improvement in the areas of maturity, self-control, and independent planning of work. It is hypothesized that these difficulties may arise from cultural factors. In Korean child-rearing, the child is usually allowed great behavioral latitude and is indulged considerably until about the age of five, at which time fairly strict behavioral controls and expectations are applied. Thus, an elementary school age Korean-American child may have a shorter history of expectations in the area of behavioral control and self-control than a majority culture child who has had such expectations gradually applied since an early age. Also, Korean-American children who have previously attended school in Korea may be somewhat unprepared for the greater autonomy expected in the American classroom.

The teachers were also asked to judge the frequency with which the children engaged in various types of behavior that may reflect underlying cultural patterns or preferences (Table III-42). For example, that 39.4% of the children seldom or never ask for the teacher's help may reflect an attitude of Korean culture that it is, under some circumstances, considered disrespectful for a child to ask questions or otherwise initiate conversation with an adult. In general, the teachers observed that the children were polite in social situations, were respectful of adults, were quiet and intent workers, and were careful to collect their work and take it home. Conversely, relatively few of the Korean-American children were reported to be disruptive. These observations would appear to support the "model minority" stereotype often applied to Asian-American groups. However, the teachers also reported that 42.7% of the children are seldom or never modest about their achievements, and that 84.4% have a tendency to show off material possessions. While these traits are not generally part of the stereotypical concept of Asian cultures, it should be noted that Korean culture has more place for expression of boasting and conspic-

Table III-42 Los Angeles Teachers' Report of the Frequency with which Subject Children Engage in Selected Behaviors

	Frequency (Percent)			
Behavior	Frequently	Moderately	Seldom	Never
Asks for teacher's help	14.2	46.4	36.3	3.1
Shows initiative in using English	53.6	33.8	11.3	1.4
Initiates disruptive behavior	6.1	11.6	31.4	50.9
Participates in disruptive behavior initiated by others	5.1	17.7	33.3	43.9
Talks with other children during worktime	16.6	36.9	38.6	7.8
Is modest about his/her achievements	13.3	44.0	32.8	9.9
Mentions his/her immediate family	10.2	25.9	39.8	24.1
Mentions his/her extended family	4.8	12.6	37.1	45.6
Is polite in social situations	68.6	28.4	2.7	0.3
Is respectful to adults	80.7	17.9	1.4	—
Works quietly and intently on schoolwork	55.9	35.3	8.8	—
Has trouble finding right words to express him/herself	21.1	40.8	31.6	6.5
Shows off material possessions	36.1	48.3	13.9	1.7
Is careful to collect work papers and take them home	67.2	28.7	3.4	0.7

uous display than some other Asian cultures. These behaviors have also been fostered and legitimized through the extensive cultural and economic ties that have developed between Korea and the United States since the end of World War II.

Lack of modesty about one's accomplishments and a tendency to show off material possessions were reported more frequently by teachers in Los Angeles than in Chicago. This difference may be due to the differing minority status of Korean-American children in the two cities. In Chicago, Korean-American children are most often a very small minority of the school population, while in some classrooms in the participating Los Angeles schools they actually constituted a majority. It may be that there is safety in numbers, so that the Los Angeles children feel more free to act normally, while the Chicago children may be more apt to be defensive and thus keep their behavior under more strict control.

As noted earlier, the Los Angeles teachers were also asked additional questions about the types of needs that they perceived might be answered by the information collected in the study. Asked whether they would find it helpful to have teacher workshops aimed at assisting teachers who have Korean-American children in their classes, 88.3% favored such workshops, while 11.7% said they would not find this helpful. Those teachers who favored workshops about Korean-American children were also asked to name topics that such workshops should cover. As Table III-43 shows, the teachers expressed an interest in learning about a wide variety of cultural and pedagogical areas. On the basis of these responses it would appear that the teachers in the Los Angeles sample have at least a general appreciation of the complex of cultural factors affecting the school experience of non-native Korean-American children. There was clearly greater consensus on these cultural background items than there was on the technique-oriented areas of working with Korean children or their parents. This suggests that the teachers see the greatest need in the area of obtaining background information that they can use to adapt their methods to the particular ethnic group to be served.

Overall, the data collected from the teachers suggest that most have positive attitudes toward the Korean-American children in their classes, and most recognize the need to address the culture-specific needs of these children. When it came to translating goodwill into action, however, many of the teachers felt they were handicapped by lack of specific information on Korean culture. There had been few attempts to provide this information to the teachers through inservice programs.

Table III-43 Topics Named by Los Angeles Teachers for Inclusion in a Workshop on Korean-American Children

Topic	Number of Responses	% of Responses
Korean history and art	23	6.5
Korean behavior	11	3.1
Korean lifestyle	121	34.1
Korean values	8	2.3
How to help Korean children	5	1.4
How to work with Korean parents	10	2.8
How to work with Korean children	9	2.5
Korean language	82	23.1
The Korean educational system	19	5.4
Korean educational techniques	13	3.7
Korean songs and recipes	10	2.8
Other	44	12.4
Total	355	100.0

*Teachers could name more than one topic. Therefore, the total responses do not correspond to the sample size.

One potential problem area that is apparent from the observations of the teacher interviews is that the teachers' highly favorable evaluations of the Korean-American children were often made in comparison to children from other minorities. (Most of the participating schools have many minority students in attendance and are located in transitional neighborhoods that probably have below-average socioeconomic profiles.) There are two potential dangers in this favorable comparison of the Korean-American children. In the short run, this may lead the Korean-American children to develop negative attitudes toward other minorities, while the long-term effect may be that the Korean-American children will have a false sense of their own abilities and of the ease with which they will be accepted by the majority culture. They will thus be ill prepared for the discrimination and strong competition they will probably encounter later, both in college and in the business and professional worlds.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: LOS ANGELES SAMPLE

DEMOGRAPHICS

The Korean-American parents in the study were in their late 30s, usually had two or three children of elementary-school age, and most often had a high-school or college education. The households studied were most often composed only of a nuclear family and usually lived in rented apartments. In most households both parents were employed full time outside the home; the fathers usually held jobs around the middle of the job scale (i.e., skilled labor or slightly above), while the mothers were often employed in lower level jobs (e.g., semiskilled, service). Over half the respondents had been in the United States less than three years, and only a little more than one in ten had been a U.S. resident for more than six years. Nearly all families were intact, and most relied on informal sources of child care, such as neighbors or relatives. Most of the respondents were protestant Christians (59.4%), with some Catholics and Buddists. Most respondents rated their own English fluency in the poor-to-fair range or slightly above.

PARENTS' ATTITUDES AND EXPECTATIONS

In general, the parents were satisfied with the American schools and their children's school progress, although some felt that the schools should be more strictly run and should be more academically rigorous. The parents appeared to want to take an active part in their children's education, and they had high expectations for their children to meet at school, in both academic and social areas. Virtually all of the parents felt that their children had encountered problems at school, mostly in areas connected with the child's English proficiency. This may point to an area of strong parental concern, since the most frequently expressed academic expectation of the parents was that their children should master English.

CHILDREN'S ATTITUDES AND EXPERIENCES

The children reported a variety of difficulties in school, including reading, spelling, and mathematics, but almost a fifth said that nothing was hard for them in the American schools. Almost a third of the children said that their Korean ethnicity had made trouble for them at school, although this appeared to be mostly the result of problems with English, rather than discrimination per se. Nonetheless, some children had apparently encountered name-calling and other discriminatory behavior. The children seemed to have a relatively strong identification with at least some aspects of Korean culture: they showed preferences for Korean food items, for visiting places in Korea, and for career choices that probably reflect Korean values (and, in any case, coincide with their parents' career expectations for them).

CHALLENGES OF BICULTURALITY

There is evidence that the parents hold ambivalent and often inconsistent expectations concerning the cultural choices their children will have to make in the process of finding their place in American life. The parents want their children to retain various Korean cultural traits, while at the same time adopting certain American cultural traits that have utility in American life, but that may at times be in conflict with the corresponding Korean cultural traits. It appears that there are a number of areas where the parents must ultimately make some hard choices for themselves as bicultural persons and then must be prepared to assist their children in making similar cultural decisions as the occasions arise.

The study data suggest that there may be a strong basis available for Korean-Americans to develop a bilingual/bicultural orientation. For example, it is clear that the parents have no intention of rapidly discarding the use of Korean, and they have strong expectations that their children should continue to use Korean for intra-ethnic communication. At the same time, the parents have a strong and positive orientation toward the majority culture: they want their children to be proficient in English, to obtain higher education, and to excel in the mainstream of American life. Depending on how the parents intergrate these cultural orientations in their own lives--and, then, on how they help their children to make the necessary conscious choices between cultural elements--these strong and positive forces from the two cultures may result in the development of a healthy biculturality, or they may lead to marginality and conflict or alienation between generations.

Already, some cultural conflicts between parent and child appear to have arisen as a result of the child's school experience. The children appear to be learning English faster than their parents, and there is some conflict between parent and child over which language will be used. Use of the ethnic language is important to the parent for role relationship maintenance, while the child's preference for English probably reflects an emerging self-identity that has been at least partly shaped by the acculturation experience of the school. Other cultural conflicts center on the parents' misunderstanding of the child's adoption of certain types of self-assertiveness, which are fostered by the American public school environment and are essential for survival and success in that environment. That these conflicts have arisen suggests that the parents have not yet come to terms with the different cultural choices necessary in the ethnic home environment, as opposed to the majority culture environment of the school and, ultimately, in the life in the larger American society.

CHAPTER IV: SUMMARY OF COMBINED FINDINGS

TWO ETHNIC COMMUNITIES: A DEMOGRAPHIC COMPARISON

INTRODUCTION

One of the more important findings of the study was that the Korean-American communities of Chicago and Los Angeles are alike in more ways that they are different. Prior to the study, informal observation in the two communities had suggested that they were quite different in socioeconomic makeup. The Chicago community appeared to be composed largely of persons with high educational and occupational levels, while the Los Angeles community seemed to contain a more evenly distributed mix of persons from various socioeconomic strata, including many from the lower strata. In addition, there seemed to be marked differences in "atmosphere" between the two communities. In this section we will discuss the similiarities and differences in demographics that emerged from the study of these two Korean-American communities. The subsequent section on data analyses reports a number of findings applicable to both communities and examines the variance between the two communities with respect to a number of attitudinal dimensions of the study data.

COMPARISON OF DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

In Table IV-1 the major demographic characteristics of the two subject populations are presented side by side for comparison. It is clear that the differences in age of parents, age of children in the study, and number of children in the family are very small. There is some difference in the concentration of relatives per family, although the vast majority of families at both sites are nuclear. The group of relatives in Los Angeles is inflated by a few families that have fairly large numbers of relatives living with them--in some cases as many as four or five persons. Thus, the overall composition of most families at the two sites is quite similar: in both cases, the parents are in their middle to late 30s, and the average family has two or three children and is nuclear. In those cases where the family has relatives living with it, they are likely to be grandparents, although Los Angeles

Table IV-1 Comparison of Major Demographic Characteristics of Respondents in Chicago and Los Angeles

Characteristic (units)	Chicago	Los Angeles
Mean age of parent respondents (years)	39.1	38.8
Full-time employment rate (percent), male/female	94.9/73.5	86.8/71.1
Average number of children per family	2.54	2.49
Average number of relatives per household	0.11	0.16
Mean age of child respondents (years)*	9.00	8.90
Mean relative educational level of husbands**	6.59	6.00
Mean relative educational level of wives**	5.57	4.98
Mean relative job level of husbands***	5.51	5.83
Mean relative job level of wives***	5.76	6.38
Self-rated spoken English fluency of husbands****	2.98	3.13
Self-rated spoken English fluency of wives****	3.24	3.42
Housing rental (percent), apartments/houses	66/11	84/5
Housing ownership (percent), condominiums/houses	6/14	0.3/10

* When there was more than one child in the family in elementary school the eldest was selected.

** Higher numbers indicate more education. Scale: 1 = elementary school, 2 = some high school, 3 = some high school plus trade school, 4 = high school graduate, 5 = trade school beyond high school, 6 = some college, 7 = college graduate, 8 = some graduate study, 9 = doctorate. Figures are for education received in Korea only.

*** Lower numbers indicate *higher* job level. Scale: 1 = professional, 2 = nurse/teacher, 3 = managerial, 4 = clerical, 5 = proprietor, 6 = skilled labor, 7 = semi-skilled, 8 = unskilled/service, 9 = unemployed and homemakers.

**** Lower numbers indicate *greater* fluency. Scale: 1 = fluent, 2 = good, 3 = fair, 4 = poor, 5 = none at all.

families also had a fair number of younger relatives with them, probably siblings or cousins of the parent respondents.

The other demographic items in Table IV-1 show some differences between the Chicago and Los Angeles parent respondents, but the differences are not very large. As a group, the Chicago parents are slightly better educated, hold slightly better jobs, and rated themselves a little higher on spoken English fluency. Also, the Chicago families are more likely to own their own homes, rather than renting. This may indicate greater prosperity, but more likely reflects the astronomical cost of real estate in the Los Angeles area. Overall, the mean educational level of the samples ranges from just past high school graduation to just short of college graduation, with the education of the mothers being a little less than that of the fathers at both sites. The mean job levels of the samples range from a little below to a little above the level of skilled labor; again, the levels for women are slightly below those for men. For both sites, one can safely generalize that most of the respondents are renters, as one would probably expect of any group in the transitional, inner-city neighborhoods where the study was conducted.

We have noted elsewhere in this report that most of the respondents are Christians, although Christians are a minority in Korea, constituting about 16% of the South Korean population. One explanation for this discrepancy is that Christian Koreans may have developed pro-Western attitudes as a result of contact with non-Korean missionaries and therefore might be more likely to emigrate to America. However, another and more likely, explanation is that many Korean-Americans become churchgoers after immigration because Korean ethnic churches represent the main type of viable ethnic organization in Korean-American communities. This hypothesis gains some support from a comparison of church preferences and organizational memberships in Chicago and Los Angeles. As Table IV-2 shows, there is a rough parallel between the levels of Christian religious preference and organizational membership. The data are not sufficient by themselves to establish a causal relationship, but they do agree with informal observations in Korean-American communities. Both the data and the observations suggest that Korean ethnic churches play an important part in the life of the ethnic community; not only is churchgoing an important community function, but many of the respondents' other organizational activities are church related.

As the table shows, the Chicago respondents appear to be substantially more active than their Los Angeles counterparts when it comes to expressed religious preference and organizational membership. This may seem surprising since the Los Angeles Korean-American community is over five times the size of the Chicago community and therefore might be supposed to offer correspondingly more opportunities for ethnic community activities. This seems not to be the case, and this finding is in fact consistent with several others in the study. Taken together, these findings suggest that the larger ethnic community makes far

Table IV-2 Religious Preference and Organizational Membership in the Chicago and Los Angeles Korean-American Communities

Religion/Organizational Membership Type	Chicago N	Chicago %	Los Angeles N	Los Angeles %
Religious Preference				
Protestant	69	71.9	183	59.4
Catholic	15	15.6	31	10.1
Buddhist	3	3.1	23	7.5
No religion	9	9.4	71	23.1
*Organizational Membership Type**				
Religious	65	65.7	121	39.5
Ethnic	10	10.2	5	1.6
Professional	4	4.1	9	2.9
Recreational	22	4.1	21	6.9

*In the case of organizational memberships the percentages represent the proportion of the total sample reporting membership in each type of organization. Respondents were asked to report all of their organizational memberships, and some respondents belonged to no organizations. Therefore, Ns for organizational membership type do not sum to the sample size, and the percentages do not sum to 100%.

fewer demands on its members for group cohesiveness and open adherence to ethnic community norms. For example, the children in the Los Angeles sample were much more open in their expression of certain culturally based behavior patterns (such as boasting and conspicuous display of possessions) that are apparently suppressed in Chicago in the interest of presenting an "ideal minority" image to the majority culture. Likewise, the Los Angeles parents seemed to be much less concerned about preserving the norm of Korean language use by their children. In short, the size of the Los Angeles Korean-American community seems to afford its members a sense of safety in numbers; this in turn may allow Los Angeles Korean-Americans to relax the defensive posture that visible minorities must usually adopt vis-à-vis the majority culture. Thus, the variable of community size may be a very important demographic factor to consider in comparing ethnic minority populations.

DATA ANALYSES: SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

The discussions presented in Chapters II and III of this report concentrated on the response frequencies in the data from the two field sites. In this section we will discuss the results of various post-hoc statistical analyses applied to selected groups of items in the data: simple correlations, cross tabulations, analysis of variances and tests of linearity. Those relationships found to be statistically significant are reported here. Taken together, there are several related groups of significant relationships that suggest broad generalizations characterizing the experience of acculturation and aspects of the school-home interaction in the lives of the subjects.

Unless otherwise noted, the analyses reported here were performed on the combined data from Chicago and Los Angeles. This was done wherever between-groups variance was nonsignificant when compared with within-groups variance. In some cases where there is significant between-groups variance, the findings are reported by way of characterizing the overall differences between the Chicago and Los Angeles respondents. In most cases, however, the variance between the sample groups was small.

PARENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THE SCHOOLS

By groups, the parents in Los Angeles and Chicago did not vary significantly in their preference for American versus Korean schools either in the area of academic learning ($\underline{p}>.30$, 2-tailed) or social learning ($\underline{p}>.10$, 2-tailed). As noted in the earlier sections of this report, parents of both groups showed a moderately strong preference for American schools over Korean schools in both categories.

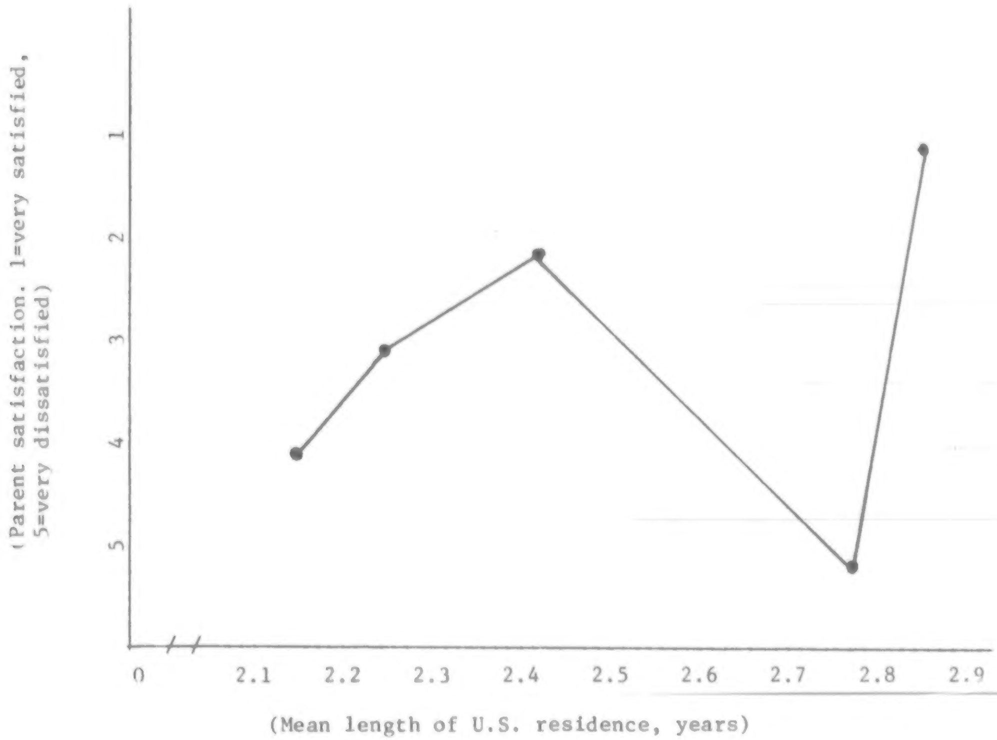
In considering responses to survey items such as this one, it is important to remember that there may be a "politeness" effect shaping the respondents' replies. For the present item, one could hypothesize that the respondents might be inclined to express a preference for American schools out of deference to the American host culture or, conversely, to express preference for Korean schools out of deference to the Korean ethnic interviewer. However, there is internal consistency in the parents' attitudes as measured by a related item: there was a strong relationship between parental preference for Korean or American schools in the area of academic learning and parental satisfaction with the child's academic progress ($\underline{p}<.0001$). In other words, parents who prefer American schools to Korean schools tend to be more satisfied with their children's academic progress in the American school.

It is of course not possible to determine the direction of the cause-and-effect relationship, if any, in this correlation. One suspects, however, that the relationship would tend to be circular. Parents who have a strong preference for one school system or the other may tend to judge their children's school performance in terms of this preference. Conversely, if a child is doing especially well or poorly in the American school, the child's parents may thereby be influenced to express a better or worse opinion of the school. This suggests that school personnel who are addressing the academic problems of a Korean-American child may also need to consider parent attitudes and expectations. For example, of those parents in Los Angeles who preferred Korean schools, a large proportion said that the reason for their preference was that Korean schools emphasized rote learning and stressed achievement through rigorous examinations of students. One can imagine that one of these parents who was dissatisfied with his/her child's school progress might simply be judging the American school adversely because American schools generally do not emphasize rote learning and do not examine the students as frequently as Korean schools. In a case such as this, an important approach to dealing with the home-school friction may be to help the parent understand the quite different approach used by the American school in achieving educational objectives. On the other hand, the schools might accept the challenge to come up with some more rigorous academic learning methods. It might be noted that several of the Los Angeles teachers in the study expressed a desire to learn the secret of the Korean school's success, i.e., how to produce alert, eager students with high expectations of themselves.

The attitudes and preferences of the study parents with respect to the schools appear to be influenced by the respondents' job levels and by length of U.S. residence. In general, the higher the parents' job levels, the more likely the parents are to prefer American schools to Korean schools. This generalization holds for both academic and social learning, although the correlation between husband's job level and preference for American schools for academic learning was just short of the 95% confidence level ($p=.0712$).

It can also be said that the longer respondent parents have been in the United States, the more likely that they will prefer American to Korean schools. This holds for both academic and social learning ($p<.03$ and $p<.05$, respectively). Also, parent satisfaction with the child's academic progress is related to length of U.S. residence, but the relationship appears to be complex. As Figure IV-1 shows, parent satisfaction increases for a time, then falls off, and finally increases again. The relationship is highly significant ($p<.001$) but also strongly nonlinear. The initial expectation of the researchers was to find a linear relationship. However, more than one factor appears to be at work. At first the parents are highly satisfied with the American school because their children appear to be succeeding despite severe language problems. Next follows a corresponding period of unrealistically high expectations and consequent disappointments. Finally, as time passes, the parents seem to develop a more realistic attitude toward the school and their children's progress. School personnel should bear this process in mind when they encounter varying parent attitudes: these attitudes appear to be formed by more complex factors than just the individual's length of U.S. residence. The parents' own process of acculturation, changing English proficiency, and changing attitudes toward U.S. culture (including attitudes toward the accul-

Figure IV-1: Parent Satisfaction with Child's Academic Progress versus Length of U.S. Residence



turation of the child) may all play a part in the "ups and downs" of the parents' attitudes toward the school.

Interestingly, parent educational level does not seem to be an important determinant of attitudes toward school. The only significant relationship in this area (p .01) is that between the mother's education and preference for American schools for academic learning: the higher the mother's educational level, the stronger the preference for American schools. The other three relationships (the father's education versus preference for a school either for academic or social learning, and the mother's education versus preference on the basis of social learning) were nonsignificant by wide margins.

That job level is a good predictor of general attitude toward the schools, while education is not, probably indicates that acculturation is more important than education in this respect. As will be discussed later, respondents with higher level jobs tend to have been in the United States longer and to have higher levels of English proficiency. These acculturation factors may explain their preference for American schools. Also, holders of higher level jobs may simply have more contact with the majority culture as a result of their work; this contact may reinforce the utility of American education for success in American life.

Although the opinions of the respondent parents about the value of a bilingual education for their children tended to be related to the mother's education ($p<.05$) but not to the father's education ($p>.30$), one has to be continually aware that the effectiveness of bilingual programs varies considerably. Hence the comparability of the data in this instance is questionable. However, it is interesting to note that a similar relation between the mother's job level and her opinion of the bilingual program approaches significance very closely ($p=.0535$), while that for the father's did not ($p>.10$). This pattern, taken together with similar results for some other variables, may suggest that the mother is the primary shaper of opinion toward the schools in the Korean-American families studied. In a majority of cases it was the father rather that the mother who supplied the responses to the family opinion sections of the questionnaire--yet these responses tend to correlate with the educational and job levels of the mother, rather than of the father. This leads one to hypothesize that it is the mother rather than the father who keeps track of the child's school experiences and forms the family opinions by evaluating that experience. (This may also be true for American families.)

If this is so, it may have implications for the development of strategies to increase communication and interaction between the school and the Korean-American family. Such strategies must take into account that there may be traditional expectations in the family that the father will be the person to whom and through whom communication with the outside community is directed. At the same time, there is a good possibility that the mother may be the primary shaper of family opinion toward the school, and thus she, rather than the father, is the person who must be reached and persuaded by communication from the school.

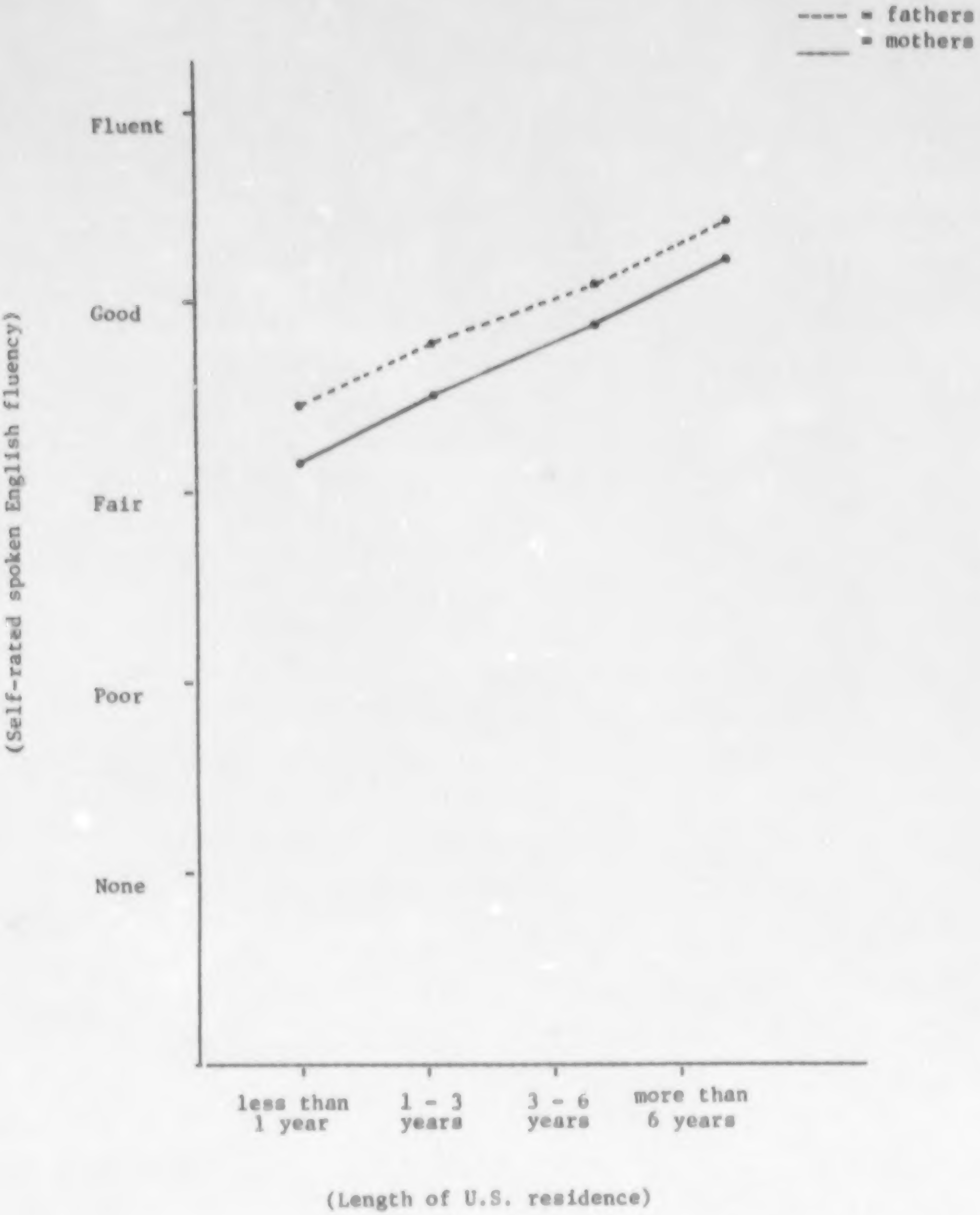
FACTORS IN PARENTS' ENGLISH PROFICIENCY

There are a large number of significant relationships among the measures of English proficiency in the questionnaire and such variables as educational level, job level, length of residence, and readership of Korean and American newspapers.

On all three self-measures of English fluency--speaking, reading, and writing--both fathers and mothers rated themselves significantly better with longer residence in the United States ($p<.0001$ for all except written English of mothers, where $p<.01$). Thus it appears that most of the adult respondents have made steady progress in mastering English, although it should be pointed out that the rate of progress may be relatively slow. Typically, respondents who have been in the United States for less than one year rated themselves slightly above "fair" in their English proficiency, while those who had been U.S. residents for more than six years rated themselves slightly above "good." ("Fluent" was the highest step on the scale, with "good" coming below it.) Fathers rated themselves somewhat higher than did mothers for all lengths of residence, perhaps reflecting the higher educational levels and greater workforce participation of the fathers. In either case, however, the parents do not appear to be learning English at a rapid pace, although their progress is steady (Figure IV-2).

Strong relationships ($p<.0001$ in most cases) were also found between all types of self-rated fluency and educational level for both fathers and mothers. Typically, those who had not graduated from high school rated themselves a little better than "fair," while those who had some college rated themselves a little less than "good," and college graduates reported their fluency to be a little better than "good." As Figure IV-3 shows, mothers rated them-

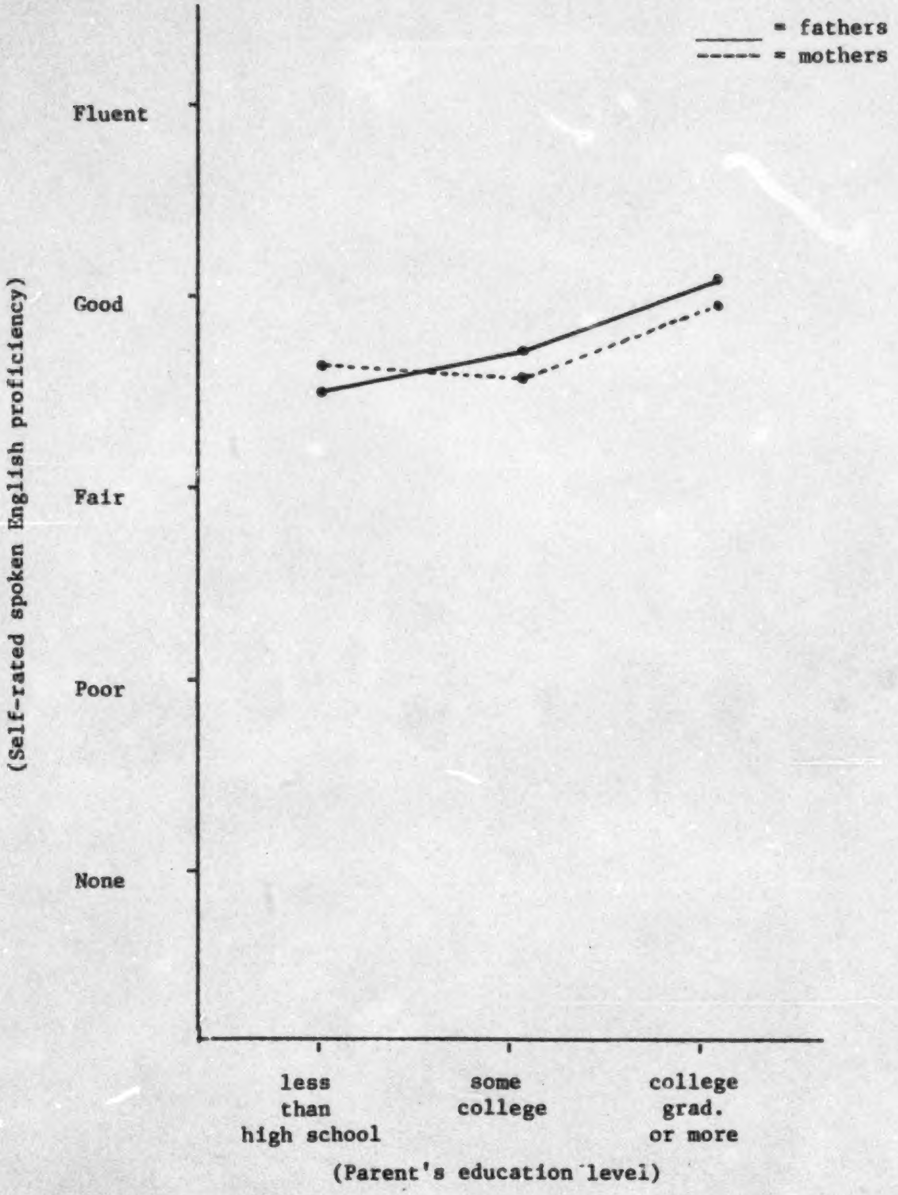
Figure IV-2: Comparison of Fathers' and Mothers' Self-rated Spoken English Fluency, Broken Down by Length of U.S. Residence



selves somewhat lower than fathers, and the mother's response pattern is slightly nonlinear in that women who have not graduated from high school report slightly higher proficiency than those who have attended some college. This is apparently merely an artifact of the data, since the mother's responses for reading and writing proficiency were linear. On the other hand, it is necessary to have a minimum proficiency in spoken English to survive in the United States, regardless of one's education level.

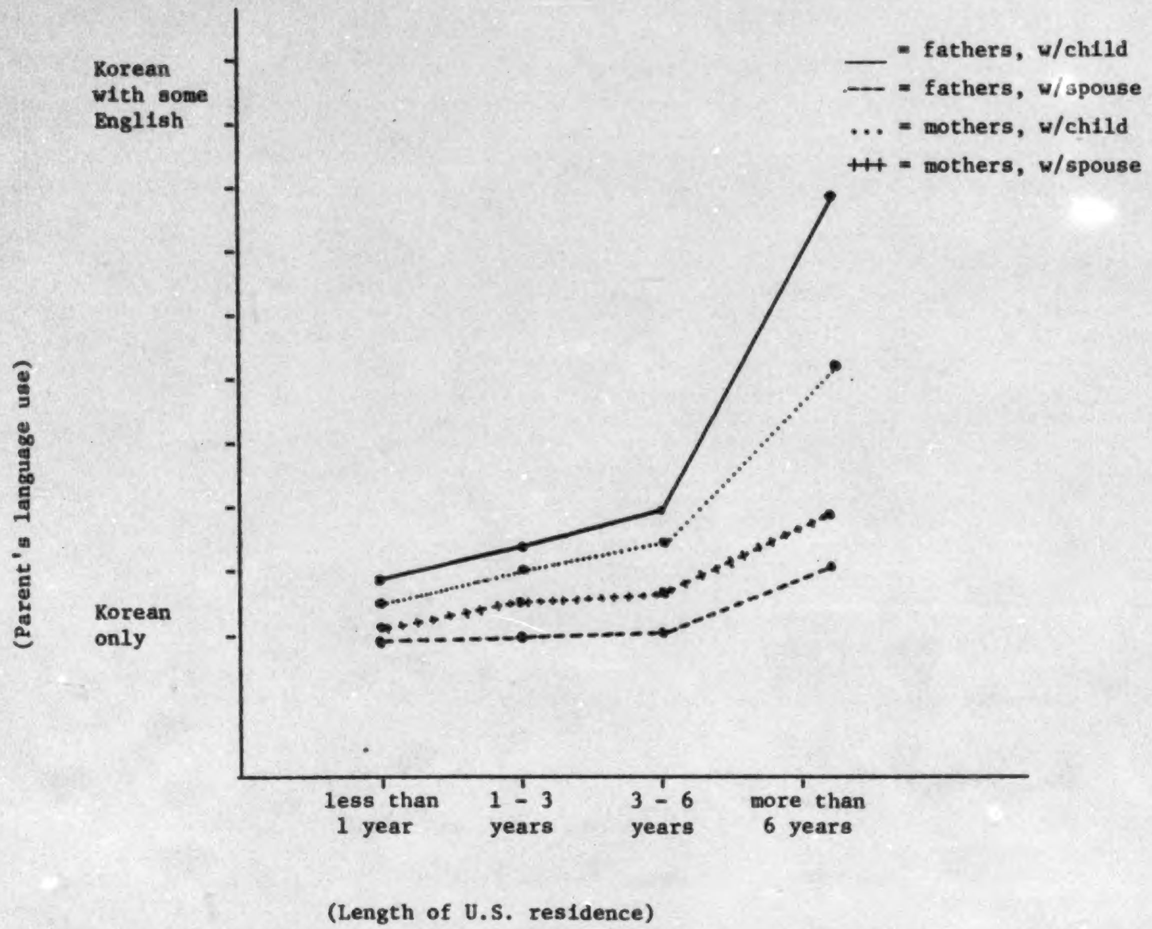
Newspaper readership in Korean and English was found to be related to educational level and length of U.S. residence in some cases. For fathers, the choice of newspapers was strongly related to educational level ($p<.01$): those respondents who had not graduated from high school tended to read only Korean-language newspapers, while college graduates were much

Figure IV-3: Comparison of Self-rated Spoken English Proficiency with Educational Level, by Sex



more likely to read English-language newspapers, usually in addition to the ethnic publications. Mothers were more likely to read English-language newspapers if they were long-term residents (more than 6 years) (p .05). This may relate to their need to follow sale ads or other community information in English language newspapers. However, the change in readership from group to group was nonlinear. The other interrelations between education, job level, and residence were all nonsignificant. This suggests that it may be difficult to predict English-language newspaper readership in the Korean-American community. Therefore,

Figure IV-4: Parents' Language Use with Spouses and Children, by Sex and Length of U.S. Residence



the best media choice for reaching all segments of the Korean-American population is still likely to be the ethnic language newspapers.

An important aspect of language use is the choice of the ethnic language or English for communication with one's children and spouse. As Figure IV-4 clearly shows, the parent respondents speak more English with their children than they do with each other, and the difference in language choice increases with time in the United States. It has been noted elsewhere in this report that continued, extensive use of Korean is an important consideration for most Korean-Americans. The pressure for the continued use of Korean in close personal relationships--as, for instance, between spouses and between parent and child--is particularly strong because the Korean language contains many built-in cues for interacting and communicating vertically-ordered social relationships. Many Koreans find English either "too familiar" or "too formal" in given social situations: maintenance of vertically-structured role relationships requires "fine tuning" of the forms of address used for different individuals and under different circumstances, and these distinctions are difficult or impossible to express in English.

The increasing difference, over time, in language use between spouses and between parent and child has several possible implications. One is that we are witnessing some sort of change in the traditional parent-child role relationship, as evidenced by the gradual shift to more communication in English. Another possibility is that the children are shifting toward English as their preferred language, and that the parents are responding to the children's language preference. The parents' desire for their children's high academic achievement may force them to tolerate their children's English usage, but this may lead to social discomfort on the part of the parents because of the lack of hierarchical role cues in English. In any case, the increase in the use of English between parent and child suggests that the children are acculturating faster than their parents, at least in part, because of the large amount of American cultural exposure they receive in the schools.

RELATIONS BETWEEN ATTITUDINAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC ITEMS

Many of the items discussed in this section are not directly related to the nature of the home-school interaction. However, they may have important indirect bearing on the topic at hand since they help to identify attitudinal characteristics related to the acculturation of the parents, as well as linking these characteristics to identifiable demographic indicators.

With increasing length of residence in the United States, responding parents show different attitudes toward their employment and income. Both fathers and mothers become more certain that their income is equal to that of comparable American workers ($p<.001$). Likewise, with longer U.S. residence mothers and fathers alike become more certain that their income levels are fair in view of their educational levels ($p<.001$ for fathers, and $p<.01$ for mothers). In the case of perceived commensurability between job level and education, the fathers showed significantly more positive opinions over time ($p<.05$), while the mothers did not ($p>.25$). It should be observed that, in general, the mothers seemed to become less sure of their improved job and income situations over time than was the case for the fathers. This may indicate that Korean-American women have a harder time "making it" in the American job market, or it may mean that their judgments are more neutral because they are less sure than men are of their job and income expectations. In many cases, Korean-American women will not have worked before coming to America, and hence they may have little background for forming their expectations. The respondents' perceptions of underemployment reveal a similar pattern: men who were more highly educated were significantly less likely to feel that their jobs were commensurate with their education ($p<.05$), while the relationship for women did not reach significance ($p>.07$).

These findings suggest that it may be particularly important to provide appropriate job and career counseling and information to Korean-American women in the workforce and to highly educated Korean-American men. Korean-American women seem to be unsure of what to expect in the job market and, as a result, they may have difficulty in determining what constitutes success or failure. Highly educated Korean-American men, on the other hand, seem to have a fairly clear sense that they are underemployed in the U.S. job market, and hence this group may benefit from vocational counseling in the area of re-education and the transfer of skills. The job market seems to be a place of special difficulty in the adjustment of some segments of the Korean-American population: when it comes to the more generalized question of being treated equally by most Americans, both men and women became increasingly sure of equal treatment over time ($p<.001$ for women, and $p<.01$ for men).

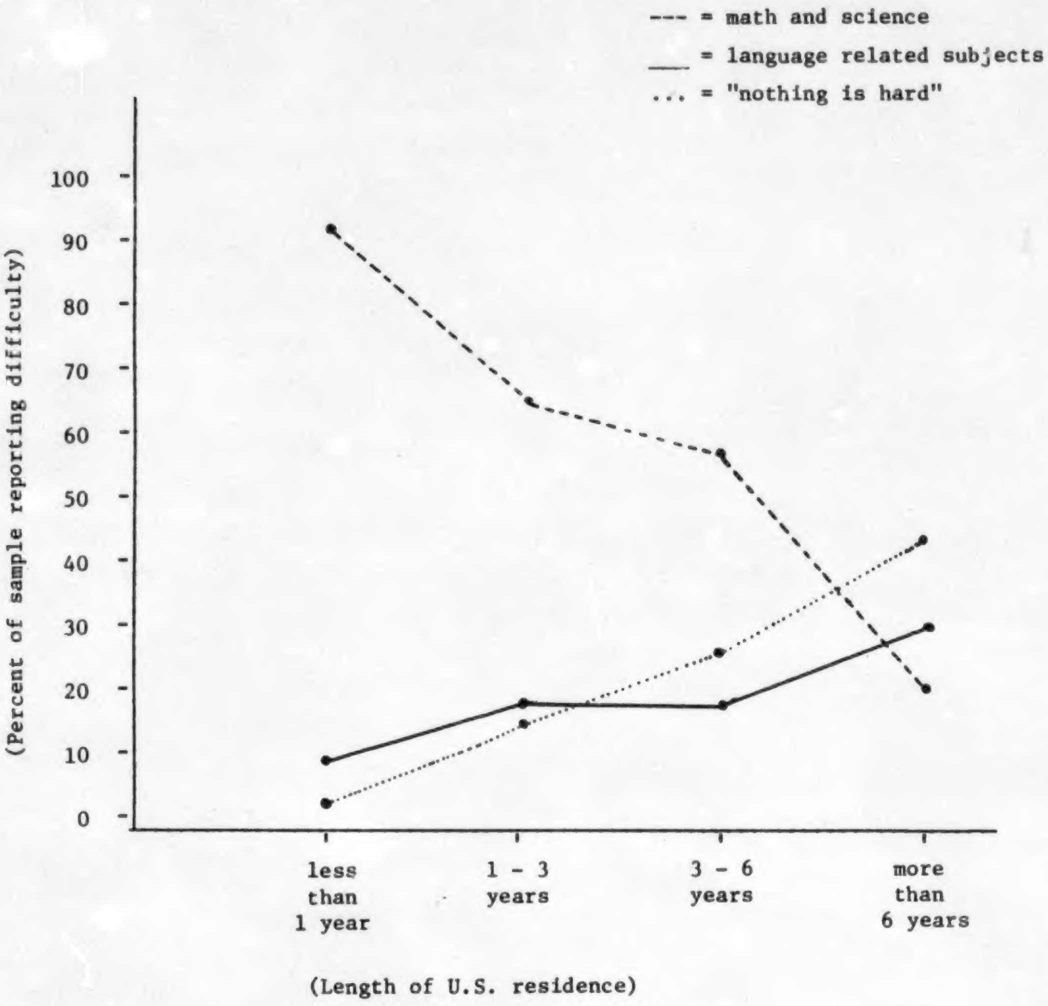
FAMILY ACCULTURATION ACTIVITIES

Parents' job and education levels and length of residence in the United States are related to some family activities that may have bearing on the acculturation of the children to American life. For example, families that have been in the United States for longer periods of time are more likely to celebrate American holidays regularly ($p< .0001$), and families in which the father is employed in a high level job are also more likely to celebrate American holidays. This may indicate greater acculturation, more available leisure time, or may reflect the fact that respondents holding higher level jobs tended to be long-time residents.

Longer-term U.S. residents were more likely to socialize frequently with American families so that the children could get together ($p<.05$), presumably because these families have had more chance to develop social contacts with Americans. The father's educational level also was related to an attitudinal item concerning the socializing of the children with American playmates: the higher the father's educational level, the more likely he is to approve of his children inviting American children to come over to play. Interestingly, no such relationship was found for the mothers, perhaps because they are the ones who suffer social embarrassment from having American children see their cramped and shabby living quarters. For the fathers, the item is more hypothetical.

Some relationships were also found concerning the frequency with which parents read or tell stories to their children in Korean and English. In general, it can be said that parents who are better educated and hold higher level jobs read more frequently to their children in English. On the other hand, higher frequency of reading to children in Korean was positively related only to the mother's educational level, while the correlations to the father's education and both parents' job levels were nonsignificant. The tendency of parents with higher job and education levels to read to their children in English probably reflects the generally higher English proficiency of these parents and may also be a function of longer U.S. residence. That only the mother's education relates to the frequency of reading and storytelling in Korean may be due to the fact that more educated mothers may be more aware of the importance of reading and storytelling in their children's development.

Figure IV-5: Children's Perception of "Most Difficult Thing to Do in the American School," Compared with Length of U.S. Residence



FACTORS IN THE CHILDREN'S SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

The process of adjusting to a new environment and new intellectual and behavioral expectations is a complex one, as is illustrated by a time-based analysis of the school difficulties reported by the children in the study. For example, one would expect, a priori, that children's difficulties with language would decrease with increased residence in the United States. Yet, as Figure IV-5 shows, the children perceive difficulties with English and English-related subjects more and more frequently with time. This increase may well reflect continually rising self-expectations and, possibly, the greater expectations held by teachers with respect to students who have been in the United States for longer periods of time. On the other hand, a certain number of the children appear to have made a smooth transition to the American schools, as evidenced by the steadily rising proportion of children who claim that "nothing is hard."

The high number of newly-arrived children who perceive difficulties in the area of mathematics and science is perhaps surprising. It may be that the children are more keenly aware of their difficulty in understanding these areas because the expectations are clearer than they are in language-related areas. In any case, the children's mastery of math and science is apparently fairly quick and thorough, as the steeply plunging line in Figure IV-5 illustrates. These findings suggest that the classroom teacher should continue to monitor closely the English progress of Korean-American children who have been in American schools for several years: at least in the view of the children, math and science problems seem to take care of themselves, while English actually becomes more problematic over time. English progress may be rapid initially and then slow down. Thus, expectations raised by initial progress must be adjusted to more realistic levels later on.

This pattern of continued self-perceived problems with English may be related to the overall language experience in the lives of the study children. As we have noted earlier, the vast majority of the communication between parent and child is in Korean, and many of the children's best friends in school and playmates after school are Korean. This is expecially true in Los Angeles, where the large and geographically concentrated Korean-American population results in some schools in which Korean-American children actually constitute a numerical majority.

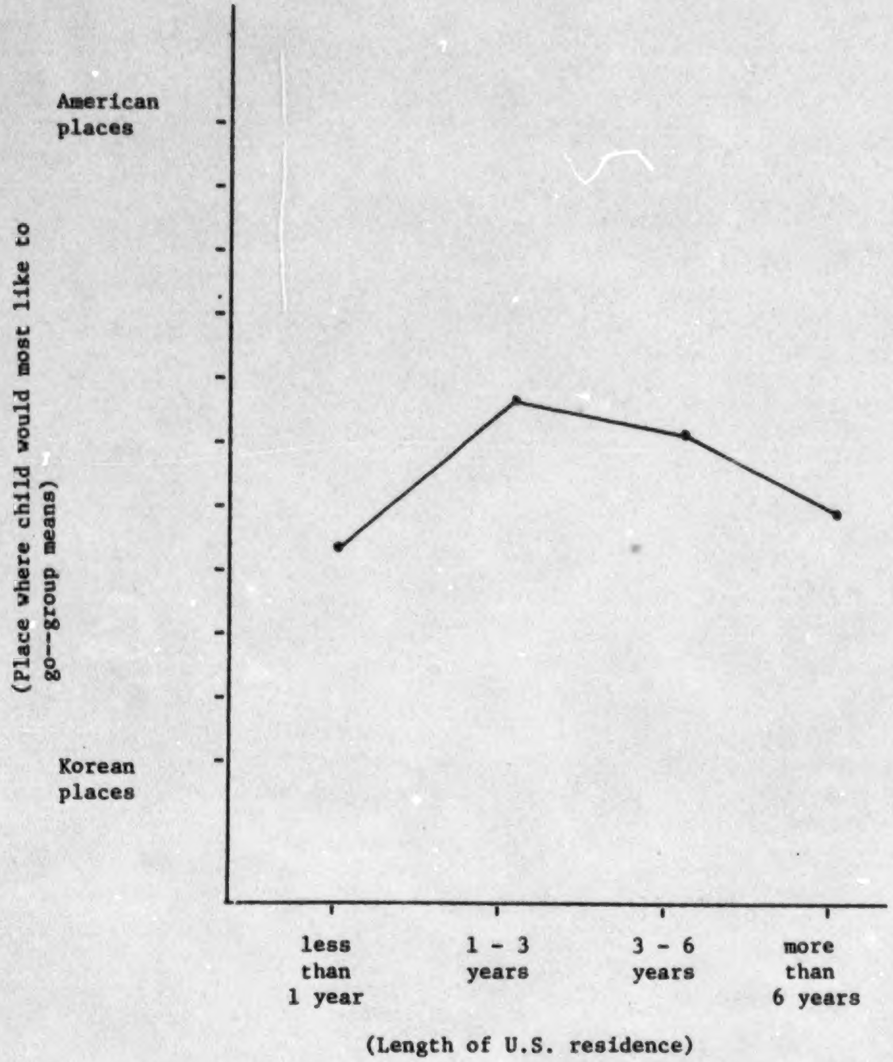
The effect of longer U.S. residence is found with respect to the nationality of the child's best friends and playmates and in the children's reports of trouble at school arising from the child's Korean ethnicity. Those children who reported that they played only with American children, or with a mix of Korean and American children, after school had generally been in the United States significantly longer than those children who said they played only with Korean children ($p<.0001$). This may result from a tendency of longer-term residents to move from ethnic enclaves to mixed neighborhoods where many potential playmates would be from the majority culture or from other minorities. Also, longer-term residents may simply have made more friends in the majority culture and may have had time to work out the logistical problems of having their children play with children outside the immediate neighborhood; as noted earlier, families that had been in the United States longer were more likely to socialize with American families so that the children could get together.

Children whose families had been residents for longer periods of time also tended to have more American "best friends" at school ($p<.01$). In part, this may reflect the continued acculturation of the children over time, but secondary and tertiary migration could also be a factor: with time, families may tend to move from an ethnic enclave to a mixed neighborhood where the neighborhood school would have far fewer Korean children from whom the child could pick a "best friend." This hypothesis is supported by the fact that in Chicago, where Korean children were a small minority at all participating schools, the study children named more American best friends than in Los Angeles, where Korean children were often a sizeable portion of the school population.

Longer U.S. residence was also inversely related to the likelihood that the child would report having trouble at school as a result of his/her Korean ethnicity ($p<.0001$). Those who reported no trouble averaged about a half year longer residence than those who reported having trouble. It should be noted that much of the "trouble" reported by the children had to do with language, rather than antisocial acts on the part of other children. Apparently, the children quite readily acquire the language skills they need to feel at ease in social situations even though, as we noted earlier, they may actually perceive more difficulties with English in academic areas over time. For example, in the general spoken communication area of "understanding what the teacher says" children who have been in residence longer have significantly less difficulty ($p<.0001$).

A final time-based effect, which may reveal some of the complexities of the acculturation process, is the relation between length of U.S. residence and the children's wishes as to the place they would most like to visit. As Figure IV-6 shows, the group means for visiting American as opposed to Korean places shift in a nonlinear fashion over time: children who are recently arrived in the United States favor Korea as a place to visit, then the preference shifts to the United States followed by a shift back to Korea from about the third year of residence onward. This trend may be considered as a period of homesickness, followed by rising interest in the new American environment, which is in turn replaced by

Figure IV-6: Changes Over Time in Children's Expressed Wishes of Places They Would Like to Visit



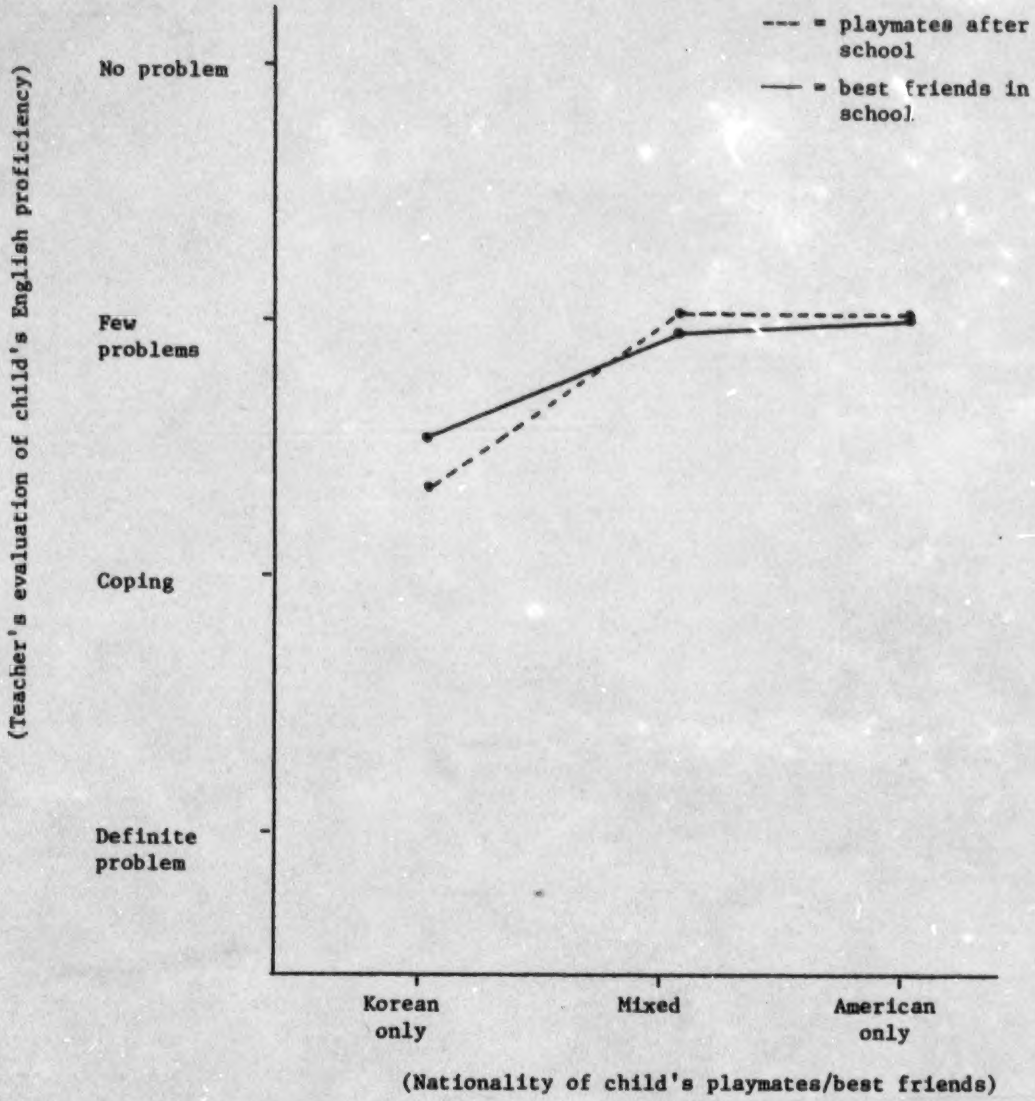
Note:

Interest in American places increases up the vertical axis; interest in Korean places increases down the vertical axis.

renewed interest in one's ethnic roots. We may actually be witnessing a "third generation" effect of renewed ethnic interest on a short time scale. Sociologists have frequently noted that the grandchildren of immigrants show a renewed interest in their ethnicity and that this interest by the third generation is greater than that shown by the second generation. It should be remembered, however, that the renewed ethnic interest is never as strong as the "first generation" interest--it is only strong compared to the "second generation" interest (Nahirny and Fishman).[1] This is clearly shown in Figure IV-6: interest in Korea after six years is lower than in the first year, but higher than in the middle years (one through three).

Figure IV-7 represents the relationship between the teachers' evaluation of child English proficiency and the children's reports of the nationalities of their playmates after

Figure IV-7: Relationship between Nationality of Child's Playmates and Best Friends and Teacher's Rating of Child's English Proficiency



school and best friends in school. The direction of causality in this relationship cannot of course be determined from the data. One suspects, however, that children with more English proficiency might be more likely to strike up friendships with children from the majority culture and that, in turn, playing with English-speaking children affords added language acquisition opportunities to the Korean-American child. This latter point may be of particular importance because much of the child's language experience at home is almost certain to be exclusively in Korean; unless the child has English-speaking friends and playmates, his or her English acquisition opportunities will be largely limited to formal language study in school.

Children whose English fluency was rated higher by their teachers also tended to report less trouble in school as a result of their Korean ethnicity ($p<.0001$). This is as expected, since much of the "trouble" the children reported was language based. In addition, a child with greater English proficiency would tend to have more friends among the majority children, might be experiencing fewer difficulties in schoolwork, and would in general probably be more thoroughly integrated into the life of the school.

In addition to determining the parents' level of satisfaction with their children's academic progress, the study also asked the children whether or not they thought they were meeting their parents' academic expectations. Overall, the Chicago parents tended to be slightly more positive than the Los Angeles parents in their satisfaction with their children's academic progress, while the Los Angeles children were significantly more certain than the Chicago children that they were meeting parental expectations ($p<.05$, 2-tailed). However, when the data were analyzed using the parent's satisfaction as a criterion variable to be broken down by the variable of the child's response, there was found to be good agreement between parent and child on a case-by-case basis ($p<.0001$). For example, the parents of children who thought they were meeting parental expectations did in fact express higher levels of satisfaction than parents whose children thought they were not meeting expectations. This finding is of importance because it suggests that the study parents are in fact managing to clearly communicate their satisfaction (or lack of satisfaction) with their children's meeting (or failing to meet) their expectations. In Korean child rearing practice, parents sometimes exhort their children to greater academic exertion by voicing extremely--even unrealistically--high expectations. Apparently the children in the study have little trouble seeing through this ploy and grasping their parents' true level of expectation and satisfaction, or, alternately, the parents may have begun to discard this practice as part of the process of acculturation. Finally, the parents' expectations may be tempered by the recognition that their children are undertaking a difficult task in learning English in a new educational milieu.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE LOS ANGELES AND CHICAGO SAMPLES

At various points in this report we have discussed differences between the two samples in the study on the basis of the frequency data, or in the light of other known information about the two communities. Analyses of variance were also performed on selected variables to determine the significance of certain apparent differences between the two groups. Two points should be emphasized before considering these analyses. First, the significant differences between the two populations are relatively few; in a number of areas the two respondent groups are very similar. Second, even in cases where the group means from Chicago and Los Angeles are significantly different it is clear from the analyses that generalizations can be made horizontally across the two sites at the level of the individual's responses. For example, although, as we will discuss below, there is a significant difference in mean educational level between the Los Angeles and Chicago samples, it still will be likely that a male college graduate in Chicago will give responses that are more like those of a male college graduate in Los Angeles than they are like those of a male, grade-school-educated respondent in Chicago. This should be borne in mind when considering the overall differences between the Chicago and Los Angeles samples.

As a group, the Chicago sample had lived slightly longer in both the United States and their present city than had the Los Angeles sample. The difference did not reach statistical significance when considered in terms of pooled variance, amounting to a mean difference of only one to two months; it is mentioned here because the trend is consistent with informal observations that the Los Angeles community contains more recently-arrived immigrants. It is quite possible that recently-arrived families might tend to decline to participate in a study such as this, since they are undergoing stresses from their recent relocation: a true random sample of the Los Angeles Korean-American population probably would have revealed a significantly higher proportion of newcomers than would be found in Chicago. Thus, recently-arrived families may be underrepresented in the Los Angeles study sample. The Chicago sample did not appear to underrepresent the newcomers in the Chicago area; we can offer no immediate explanation for this difference between the Chicago and Los Angeles samples.

A significantly higher proportion of the Chicago sample owned houses than was the case in Los Angeles ($p<.05$, 2-tailed). As noted in the discussion of the Los Angeles data, this may reflect the extremely high real estate prices in the Los Angeles area.

Earlier in this report it was observed that appropriate child care services at daycare centers were virtually nonexistent in the Los Angeles Korean-American community, while a fair number of the Chicago respondents made use of such services: only about 4.5% of the child care in Los Angeles is in the centers, while the corresponding figure for Chicago is 23.3%

There was no significant difference in the mean job level of male respondents at the two sites. However, the mean job level of the Chicago female respondents was significantly higher than that of their Los Angeles counterparts ($p<.001$, 2-tailed). This is of some interest, since both male and female Chicago respondents had higher educational levels than the Los Angeles respondents (for males, $p<.05$, 2-tailed, for females, $p<.01$, 2-tailed). That the higher educational level of Chicago fathers did not result in higher job levels is open to several interpretations. It may reflect the smaller size of the Chicago Korean community, which may afford fewer high level job opportunities in ethnically owned businesses and fewer opportunities for the ethnic professional person. Alternatively, it may be that there is a point of diminishing returns beyond which increased educational experience does not translate into higher job levels for members of visible minorities. With their very high mean educational level, the male Chicago respondents may have reached this job ceiling. Further advances in job level may be dependent not on education but upon acculturation, combined with gradual relaxation of the prejudices of the majority culture. There may also be a constrictive effect: many of the Chicago female respondents were nurses, who would generally be employed in jobs commensurate with their educational levels and who would be categorized as professionals.

Analyses of variance were also performed on the teachers' observations about the study children at the two sites. Again, there proved to be a high degree of consistency between sites and relatively few significant differences. Some of the differences that were discovered, however, tend to support observed differences in the children at the two sites and are consistent with some factors present in the two environments.

All of the significant teacher-reported differences between the Chicago and Los Angeles children were in behavioral, rather than cognitive, areas. Los Angeles children tended to mention members of their immediate families more often ($p<.05$, 2-tailed), and they were more often respectful and deferential to adults ($p<.001$, 2-tailed). In addition, the Los Angeles children were less often modest about their achievements than the Chicago children were ($p<.001$, 2-tailed), and they were much more likely to show off material possessions, ($p<.001$, 2-tailed).

Taken together, these differences suggest that the children in Los Angeles are behaving in a more overtly "Korean" fashion than the children of Chicago. (Contrary to the usual stereotypes about Asian characteristics, traditional Korean behavior patterns include a good deal of personal flamboyance, some conspicuous consumption and showing off, and a certain amount of boastfulness.) By comparison, the Chicago children appear to be considerably more subdued in their behavior.

This difference in observed behavior is quite likely a reflection of the different minority status of Korean-American children in the Los Angeles and Chicago schools. In Chicago, Korean-American children are a relatively small minority--never more than 15% in any one school at the study site, and usually less than 5%. On the other hand, in Los Angeles the Korean-American children were often fairly large minorities, and in two of the participating schools they even constituted majorities of the student body. We would suggest that the Los Angeles children behaved in a more overtly "Korean" manner because their greater numbers relieved them of the need to behave in the defensive manner of a vastly outnumbered minority.

This hypothesis is similar to that advanced by Manaster and King[2], who predicted that group cohesiveness would be greater among Mexican-American high school students when they were in the minority than when they constituted a majority of the student body. The results of the Manaster and King study were not conclusive but did suggest that group cohesiveness may be reduced, and more normal behavior patterns emerge, when the group is in the majority and hence feels less threatened by the social environment.

CONCLUSIONS FROM THE DATA ANALYSES

It is of particular interest that the data analyses revealed very few overall differences between the Chicago and Los Angeles field sites. In general, it can be said that the age, educational and occupational levels, sex, and income of an individual are more important than city of residence. This suggests it is possible to generalize findings about Korean-Americans from one area to another, so long as one takes account of the demographic characteristics of the individuals concerned.

The one clear difference in the two field sites appears to be size: one can generalize that residents of the larger Los Angeles community feel a certain safety in numbers and hence are somewhat less defensive and adamant about retaining strong and obvious ethnic identification characteristics.

NOTES

[1] V.C. Nahirny and J.A. Fishman, "American Immigrant Groups: Ethnic Identification and the Problem of Generations," *Sociological Review*, N.S.13:311-326, 1965.

[2] G.J. Manaster and M.R. King, "Mexican-American group cohesiveness and academic achievement," *Urban Education*, 7(3):235-240, 1972.

CHAPTER V: EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

DESIGN AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study was undertaken to investigate the nature of the interaction between school and home in the case of non-native Korean American families in Chicago and Los Angeles and to determine the nature of the school experience of the children of this group. On the basis of these findings, the study seeks to make recommendations about the needs of parents, teachers, and children for improving the school experience of non-native Korean-American children.

Data for the study were collected by means of survey interview using questionnaires. Three different questionnaires covering similar areas of concern were developed for interviewing non-native Korean-American parents, their children, and the children's public school teachers. These questionnaires were administered to respondents in Korean-American neighborhoods in Chicago and Los Angeles. In all, 99 completed sets of interviews per case were obtained in Chicago, and 309 in Los Angeles.

COMPARISON OF THE LOS ANGELES AND CHICAGO SAMPLES

The data gathered by the study are believed to be generalizable to the Korean-American population as a whole, provided that one takes account of the demographic characteristics of populations other than those from whom the data were gathered. That is, it was found that the demographic characteristics of an individual (such as age, education, job level, and length of U.S. residence) had a stronger effect on the individual's other responses than did city of residence. Some comparisons of the two samples, however, may help give a better sense of the two field sites.

Basically, the two Korean-American communities are made up of the same type of people: recent immigrants living in new ethnic settlements in central city areas. Demographic differences between the two samples were smaller than had been anticipated, although they were in the expected direction: Chicago respondents tended to be slightly better educated, to hold slightly better jobs, and to have slightly higher English proficiency than their Los Angeles counterparts.

The greatest differences between the two communities appeared to be related simply to the size of the communities, rather than to the characteristics of individual members. The Los Angeles Korean-American community is roughly five times the size of the Chicago community (200,000 persons versus less than 40,000), and this seemed to have an effect on both the children and the parents. For example, the behavior of the Los Angeles children in the classroom was less constrained, less stereotypically "Asian." Perhaps the fact that the Los Angeles Korean children usually constituted a substantial minority--or even a majority--in the classroom made them less defensive and encouraged them to act more naturally. Likewise, the Los Angeles parents were less concerned that their children maintain a strong attachment to Korean traditions. In their much smaller ethnic community the Chicago parents may have felt more keenly the need to preserve their ethnic identity as a defense against being subsumed culturally by the surrounding majority. In any case, the effects of ethnic community size seem to be quite real, and their bearing on community attitudes may have to be taken into account in planning intervention strategies for this group.

LIMITATIONS AND RESERVATIONS

AGE OF CHILDREN

This study was limited to children in attendance at elementary schools at the study sites. There is strong evidence that the findings on children's problems and the incidence of parent-child conflict are not generalizable to older Korean-American youth. The study data indicate that both the actual incidence of problems and conflict, and the incidence of preconditions for conflict, increase with time. Also, as children enter the teen years they become more of a problem for their parents no matter what the cultural context. Observation in the Korean-American community suggests that Korean-American teenagers are in fact experiencing far more school problems and much more conflict with their parents than was found for the younger children who participated in this study.

SAMPLING BIAS

At both study sites, all Korean-American families in the participating schools were contacted about taking part in the study. However, there is a distinct possibility that parents may have self-selected in such a way that the resulting respondents are a "best case" group among Korean-American families.

There are several types of evidence to support this conclusion. In the study sample, 75% of the mothers are employed outside the home, yet these families were still functioning well enough to be interested in participating in the study--and they were functioning efficiently enough to have the time available to participate in spite of their work schedules. One suspects, therefore, that the sample is composed largely of high-functioning and highly concerned parents. In a truly random sample of Korean-American families, female workforce participation would probably exceed 75%, and it seems clear that this is a source of strain on many marriages. This is of some concern here because the study did not attempt to explore the effects of marital conflict on the child's school experience. In fact, couples with severe marital problems would probably be less likely to participate in the study; this conclusion is indirectly supported by the very small number of single parents who volunteered to participate.

Overall, then, the study is probably biased toward parents who are highly concerned, who are functioning efficiently in the American environment, and who are not experiencing severe acculturation and role-modification difficulties. Thus, the study findings may understate the actual incidence of family-centered child problems in the Korean-American population. In this connection, project personnel reported that participating teachers frequently remarked that some Korean-American children who were not participating in the study had more school problems than those who were participating. Although it was not possible to collect data on these nonparticipating children, this informal observation suggests that families with severe problems may in fact have tended to select themselves out of the study.

MAJOR FINDINGS

THE PARENTS

It is clear that the parents in the study are both concerned about and involved with their children's school experience. They have high expectations and standards for their children, and they support them by taking an active interest in their children's progress, by keeping close track of their children's performance, and, often, by tutoring their children at home to aid them in their schoolwork.

The overall communication between parent and child appears to be working well at this time. For the most part, the parents are communicating their expectations of and their satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) with their children clearly, and, in turn, the children are clearly communicating their perceptions of the school experience to their parents. Thus there appears to be no serious estrangement between parent and child, and, in turn, both parents and children have generally positive feelings about the public school.

However, there are some areas of difficulty. The parents have a sense that they are underemployed and/or underpaid and, more generally, that they are encountering some difficulties in gaining success and acceptance in America because of their Korean ethnicity. This tends to intensify the parents' feeling that it is very important for their children to learn English and otherwise adapt to the American majority culture in order that the children may be assured of the success and acceptance that has been difficult for the parents themselves to attain.

This parental pressure may have serious consequences because the parents also strongly want their children to retain many Korean cultural traits, including extensive use of the Korean language for intra-ethnic communication. In many cases, the parents are not consciously aware of this incipient conflict, thus exacerbating it when it does occur. *It is apparent that the achievement of biculturality has to be managed through conscious choice; it will not come about on its own.* For example, some parents experience anxiety when they stress Korean culture or the use of Korean in the home because they have a sense that this may impair their children's acquisition of English, which is also very important to the parents. It will take conscious efforts and some guidance from persons who have already undergone bicultural adaptation in order for the parents to come to terms with the choices they must make and the integration they must accomplish between the two cultures.

THE TEACHERS

The study found that different teachers have greatly varying levels of sensitivity to the problems of the non-native Korean-American child. In general, however, the teachers had positive feelings toward Korean-American children: they were seen as causing no trouble, as being pliable, and as highly motivated to learn. Also, the teachers took a good deal of pride in the progress made by most Korean-American children in mastering English. Finally, the teachers perceived nearly all the Korean-American parents as positive, concerned, and involved in their children's school experience.

On the negative side of the balance, many teachers felt they lacked sufficient information about the children's cultural background. Sometimes teachers were consciously aware of this lack, and in other cases it was indirectly manifested: some teachers were puzzled by aspects of the children's behavior that could be readily explained in terms of Korean child-rearing practices or cultural expectations. The inservice training about Korean children that some teachers had received was generally ineffective: it tended to deal only with the surface manifestations of culture, such as Korean dress, food, holidays, etc. The teachers sensed that they needed much more detailed and specific information about Korean culture, including historical background, demographic information, Korean child-rearing practices, and information on parental and societal expectations. The teachers often expressed a good deal of urgency in their requests for such information. Some teachers felt that their efforts at bicultural education did not have the whole-hearted support of the schools, a feeling that may have been reinforced by the lack of appropriate inservice training for these teachers.

One potentially severe problem area was uncovered in the study of the teachers; that is, the teachers' highly favorable opinion of the Korean-American children was at least in part the result of comparing them to other minority children. At most of the schools in the study, many of the students who were not Korean were members of other minority groups, primarily black and Hispanic. The study questionnaire was not designed to explore these comparative judgments, but it was clear from the teachers' responses that they often viewed the Korean-American children in a favorable light because they did not exhibit the learning and behavioral problems common to the other minority children in the schools.

There are two potential dangers in this attitude. First, the Korean-American children may begin to sense that they are being praised at the expense of other minority children. The result may be that the Korean-American children may come to look down on other minorities. Second, the Korean-American children may acquire a false sense of their own capabilities and of the ease with which they are accepted by the majority culture. They may be in for a severe shock when they later attempt to compete on equal terms with the majority culture, either at college or in the business and professional world.

Overall, the study found the intentions of the teachers to be positive and their efforts sincere. However, they often had difficulty in translating goodwill into effective action in the form of classroom programs that could be of real assistance to Korean-American children.

THE CHILDREN

The study findings about non-native Korean-American children must be interpreted in light of the absence of any universally accepted definition of "satisfactory adaptation" for the non-English-dominant child. However, we can make a number of definite observations about the current school experiences of the children in the study.

The children are learning English at school; most are learning it well enough to deal with the school subject matter, and most are learning the new language faster than their parents are. For most children, learning English and going to school are positive and enjoyable experiences, and they express a healthy diversity of interests and preferences for school activities, probably reflecting teacher and student personality variables. School is not a stressful experience for the children: American schools give less homework than Korean schools, the academic content is less demanding, and there is less pressure for academic excellence. In fact, the Korean-American child will usually receive greater pressure to excel at home than at school.

Despite this generally favorable picture, there are some definite problem areas for the Korean-American child at school. For example, those academic subjects heavily dependent on English proficiency were more likely to present difficulties for the children. Likewise, those children who were having difficulties with English were likely to be having both academic and social difficulties as well. In addition to language difficulties, some children also found their ethnicity to be a problem because they experienced discrimination, usually in the form of name calling by other children.

Many of the children's attitudes and expectations were still strongly tied to those of their parents. Most children, for instance, expressed a wish to visit places in Korea, possibly reflecting their parents' emotional attachments to their native country. Also, the children's career aspirations closely parallel their parents' expectations for them. Interestingly, the female children uniformly express career, rather than homemaking, aspirations; this may reflect the parents' awareness of a need to treat children of both sexes equally in the American environment.

At the present time there is no evidence that the children are ashamed of or embarrassed by their parents' lack of English proficiency. However, the data show that there is a steadily widening gap between the language use patterns of the parents and the children. In a few years time there may be a marked difference between the proficiency and usage patterns of the parents and children, and this may lead to impatience or embarrassment on the part of the children.

In general, the study children exhibited a fairly good self-image, although they were often keenly aware of their difficulties with English. However, in a supportive environment, with the help of understanding parents and teachers, there is every reason to believe that these children could develop a strong bicultural orientation. They are bright and adventurous, show a readiness to explore new cultural avenues, and, so far, there are no severe parent-child conflicts or estrangements to complicate the process.

THE FUTURE OF BICULTURALITY

Now that we have outlined the findings of the study with respect to the parents, teachers, and children we will present these findings in terms of their implications for the development of bicultural orientation among Korean-Americans.

There appear to be a number of positive factors that can serve as a basis for an emergent Korean-American biculturality. The parents in the study, for example, showed a strong desire that their children retain various Korean cultural traits, such as the use of Korean for intra-ethnic communication, while they also strongly desired that their children adopt the cultural traits necessary for success in American society. In this connection, the parents were very supportive of the children learning English and acquiring American culture in the schools, at the same time they felt strongly that their children should speak Korean and retain Korean cultural behavior patterns in the home and in the ethnic community. There is much potential for conflict in this strong, positive orientation toward two cultures, but at the same time it is an essential prerequisite for the development of biculturality.

At present, the part played by the schools in this emerging biculturality appears to be largely neutral. The schools are doing a fairly good job of helping the children acquire English proficiency, and most of the teachers appear to have a positive attitude toward the children. On the other hand, most of the teachers lack the specific cultural knowledge and insight that would allow them to act as positive facilitators in the children's emerging bicultural orientation. Also, few teachers have succeeded in tapping the rich resource of the Korean-American parents and enlisting their aid in the school-centered educational experience. Clearly, the teachers and parents have positive attitudes toward each other, but just as clearly they have not yet found each other as allies and resources in the process of facilitating bicultural adaptation.

What is lacking at present--in both the school and the home environments--is a conscious articulation of the decisions, choices, and compromises that must be made by the bicultural individual. Both the school and home, however, offer much to build on. Finally, the confluence of these forces comes at an opportune time: the American society appears to have come to tolerate--and even encourage--the retention of a dual heritage by bicultural individuals.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO TARGET GROUPS

This section presents specific recommendations that we believe may be of direct and immediate benefit to parents, teachers, and school administrators who are involved in the development of Korean-American children.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO KOREAN-AMERICAN PARENTS

1) The parents must understand that their children face a unique challenge in America. The parents are, and always will be, Korean-culture dominant; the children will be Americans with Korean ancestry. The children are growing up in America, they will be pulled toward the mainstream of American life, and, at times, they may appear to reject their parents or their Korean culture. Parents must try not to feel alarmed, hurt, or offended by this reaction. The children's response is not really a personal rejection; it is a part of their attempt to come to terms with two cultures. Their reactions are natural as they try to decide what they will do with their two cultural backgrounds. Their identities will finally be different from their parents: they will be unique Korean-Americans.

2) The parents have a responsibility to help their children appreciate their two heritages: Korean and American. They can accomplish this by forming active partnerships with their ethnic community organizations such as their church and their children's school.

3) They need to learn the new parenting skills in order to help their children in this new and different situation. They must talk with other parents who are in the same position. They must help each other and, especially, seek advice from those who have been in America longer and can give them the benefit of their experience.

4) Parents should be comforted by the realization that they will be able to help their children more and more as their English improves and as they gain more familiarity with American culture.

5) Although the parents may face discrimination in America, they should have confidence that they will still succeed. The parents must make an effort to transfer this confidence to their children.

6) Parents need, also, to realize that it is inevitable that their children will become Americanized. They should recall that they brought their children to America and thus cannot afford to be dogmatically Korean.

7) Respect is not automatically conferred on parents in American society; parents will have to earn the respect of their children. One of the best ways to do this is to cultivate a wisely flexible attitude toward integrating and choosing the best of the two cultures that influence the children.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO TEACHERS OF KOREAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN

1) The teachers must recognize that Korean children do have problems, no matter how pleasant they are to have as students. For cultural reasons, the Korean children may not express their problems openly or their expression may take different forms. The teachers will have to look closely at them as individuals.

2) Teachers should try to learn all they can about Korean cultural attitudes. If they can locate Korean-American bilingual teachers--either at the school or elsewhere in the district--then these people may be good sources of information, provided they are also quite familiar with American culture.

3) Teachers need to give Korean-American children a chance to develop a healthy and positive self-identity. However, the teachers should be careful not to give them high grades they do not deserve (in some situations Pass/Fail may be more appropriate); the parental expectation is that the child will work as hard as necessary to excel in school. In the affective domain, however, teachers may have to be especially supportive, encouraging the child to express his or her feelings. Unlike other Asian cultures, Korean culture permits open expression of feelings in most, but not all, situations. Thus the child may need to learn to express feelings appropriately in American cultural settings.

4) Teachers should try to be creative in involving parents in the child's school experience--they are very interested, but there are barriers to their participation. In most Korean-American households, both parents work full time. Therefore, the teachers may have to patiently wait for a parent's day off or resort to some other type of innovative scheduling. Also, regardless of the parents' level of English fluency, the teachers need to be supportive and sensitive in parent-teacher communication, and, where appropriate, they should use interpreters.

5) At times, Korean-American children may defend inappropriate behavior on the grounds that this is what is expected of them in the home culture. The teachers must ascertain the validity of those claims and then take the cultural differences into consideration when they delineate what constitutes appropriate behavior in the classroom.

6) Finally, however, we would like to offer assurance that goodwill can often transcend language problems. If teachers communicate their interest, concern, and willingness to deal openly and flexibly with the problems confronting Korean-American children and their parents, then language differences are unlikely to get in the way.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

1) Administrators must support their teachers' attempts to help Korean-American children by giving the teachers the special assistance they need. For instance, they can mobilize bilingual/bicultural Korean-American personnel to provide inservice training and to serve as consultants and or assistants to the classroom teachers.

2) Administrators must support their teachers' efforts to enlist the resources of Korean-American parents and, where appropriate, provide the necessary structures or support services to facilitate this process.

SPECIFIC PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS

Like the recommendations to target groups, these recommendations for action through program implementation are based on the needs identified through analysis of the data from the study. More complete documentation of these needs is contained in Chapters II and III of this report, which describe the study findings in Chicago and Los Angeles, respectively.

TEACHER INSERVICE TRAINING

Inservice programs developed for teachers of non-native Korean-American children should be aimed at providing the teacher with indepth background information on Korean culture keyed to the teachers' need to develop culturally-appropriate strategies for working with Korean-American parents. In addition, teachers should be provided with a directory of Korean community services, persons willing to serve as facilitators, etc.

INFORMATIONAL MATERIALS FOR PARENTS

The Korean-American parents showed strong motivation to participate in their children's educational experience, but they often lacked the necessary information about resources available in the school and community. Also, they often lacked basic information about the school's educational approaches and expectations or whom to contact to discuss a problem or concern. Bilingual resource materials for parents developed as a cooperative effort among the schools, helping agencies, and ethnic community organizations could help meet these needs and thus might help to increase parent effectiveness in the area of the children's school experience.

CULTURE-BASED PARENTING MATERIALS

It was apparent from the study that the parents are in a state of flux and uncertainty with respect to cultural attitudes, preferences, and choices. Therefore it is recommended that materials be developed to aid parents in understanding the basic cultural choices they must make--and help their children to make--in the process of becoming bicultural persons in an American context.

BILINGUAL FACILITATORS

The language barrier appears to be the principal factor limiting the interaction of Korean-American parents with the school. This strongly suggests that schools serving Korean-American children should have Korean-English bilingual teachers on their staffs. It is further recommended that schools serving significant populations of Korean-American children locate, train, and equip bilingual persons who can assist the interaction of parents and the school. Such persons can either be part of the school structure (e.g., bilingual teachers or aides), or be from the local community (e.g., bilingual ministers or other professional persons, long-time bilingual residents, et al.). In the first case, an effort would have to be made to ensure that such persons would be sensitive to or become familiar with the local ethnic community. In the second case, a process would have to be developed to make sure that these persons fully understood the American school system and were otherwise sufficiently familiar with American culture to be able to interpret it to the parents.

COMMUNITY SERVICES FOR PARENTS

The study suggests three areas in which services for parents are needed: English language classes, job counseling, and, possibly, specialized family counseling to deal with the role strain resulting from the increased use of English and from the adaptation to American society by family members. The English language needs of the parents range all the way from survival-level instruction to advanced and specialized instruction for professional persons. There is a need to tailor English instruction to these varied needs and to provide culturally-appropriate instructional methods--usually, this means bilingual classes conducted by bilingual/bicultural persons, rather than the immersion method often used in teaching English as a second language. This study did not probe the nature of the role strain generated by immigration and acculturation, specifically that which may have resulted from the use of English by family members, especially the children. However, there was ample indirect evidence that such strain is a definite risk, and additional studies should be undertaken to determine the exact nature of the strain and the best methods of helping family members resolve it. Finally, job counseling is particularly needed by highly educated Korean-Americans who have experienced difficulty in transferring their education and skills to the American job market.

ENGLISH OPPORTUNITY PROGRAMS

It is clear that English language acquisition opportunities outside of school are important in the development of the Korean-American child's English proficiency. Yet few such opportunities are available. Recently arrived Korean-American families usually settle in ethnic enclaves where there are few opportunities for after-school contact with children from the English-speaking majority culture. Since both parents are usually working full time, they may have little opportunity to expand their children's social horizons. After-school and weekend "daycamp" programs conducted with community resources could provide greater opportunities for all the children of a neighborhood to expand each other's cultural and language horizons outside of school.

LOOKING AHEAD

As we conclude our observations on the findings of the Korean-American Child Study Project, we wish to reiterate that this is in effect a status report on the adaptation of a very recently arrived group. At both study sites, the bulk of the respondents had been in the United States for less than six years. Also, the children included in the study were all preadolescent. We therefore feel it is imperative to make some projections of the future, based partly on time effects noted in analyses of the data, partly on the likely outcomes of observed situations, and partly on informal information gathered from longer-term residents in the Korean-American community.

As the study children grew older, there will be increased potential for parent-child conflicts over the differences between American and Korean cultural expectations. One reason for this is that the children will become increasingly aware of these expectations, and, as they take on increasing responsibility for their own actions, they will be called on to make choices and take sides. Then, when the children enter adolescence, the potential for conflict will increase still more: no matter what the cultural setting, there is always more possibility of conflict between parents and teenagers than there is between parents and elementary school age children.

It seems clear, however, that all of the normal, potential teenage problems are more severe for Korean-American teenagers. They are, after all, in the uncomfortable position of having to accommodate the parental (Korean) norms to the American norms, which are also probably the norms of the all-important peer group. This is obviously a situation in which understanding and communication between parent and child are essential, and it constitutes a major challenge to the parents, churches, schools, and social service personnel of the Korean-American community.

POTENTIAL AND RISK

The parents of the Korean-American community are a potentially rich resource for improving the school experience of their children. However, more extensive and creative efforts are needed, on the part of the schools, community helping agencies, and the Korean-American community as a whole, to help actualize this potential. Given these efforts, there is every reason to believe that Korean-American parents can become active and effective partners with the educational system.

At the same time, however, there are potentially severe time-based problems in the acculturation process that make Korean-American parents and their children an at-risk group. There is deep concern among the parents that they will "lose" their children culturally and that cultural conflicts will intensify as the children respond more and more completely to the acculturation experience of the American public school. The cultural conflicts may result in severe disruption of the role structure of the Korean-American family, and, furthermore, the parents may be in a poor position to provide effective assistance to their children in dealing with the choices that must be made between aspects of the two cultures. It seems clear that the parents themselves have not faced these cultural attitudes, choices, and preferences.

Thus there is both great human potential to be developed in the interaction of the Korean-American parent and child with the American public school system, and there are severe potential risks to the Korean-American family if the patterns of conflict and contradictory cultural expectations found by the study continue to intensify--as the data suggest they will. For these reasons, the intervention strategies recommended above should be implemented as fully and as quickly as possible. It is believed that these recommendations could be carried out by a combination of outside expertise and community resources that could be mobilized on the basis of existing values and expectations held in the Korean-American community.

Additional copies of this report can be obtained from the office of the
Administration for Children, Youth, and Families
Office of Human Development Services
U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
400 6th Street SW
Washington, DC 20013

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APPENDIX: SURVEY INSTRUMENTS

KOREAN AMERICAN CHILD PROJECT

Parent-Child Survey

Project Director:

Bok-Lim C. Kim

University of Illinois

Coordination of Data Collection:

Publication Service Associates

Urbana, Illinois

ASSURANCE OF CONFIDENTIALITY -- All information about individuals will be held in strict confidence, will be used only by persons engaged in and for the purpose of the survey and will not be disclosed or released to others for any purpose. The results will be used only when combined with those of many other people.

Funded by ACYF/DHEW Grant Number 90-C-1335 (01)

Interviewer Name____________________________ Sequence #__________

ID#__________________

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

Korean-American Child Survey

ACYF/DHEW

AM
(Time interview began________PM)

1. Comparing the public schools in Korea and the United States, which school system seemed to benefit your children more in academic and social areas. What are your reasons for your answers?

   Academic learning

   ____

   ____

   ____

   Social skills

   ____

   ____

   ____

   Does not apply...__

2. What are the most important things you want your children to get from their school experiences? Please specify the kinds of learning and skills.

   ____

   ____

   ____

3. How do you expect your child to behave in school?

	Yes	*Did not mention*
1. *Pay attention to teachers*......................	1	2
2. *Obey teachers*................................	1	2
3. *Study hard*..................................	1	2
4. *Get good grades*.............................	1	2
5. *Get along well with classmates*................	1	2
6. *No expectation*...........*(Skip to Q 7)*.......	1	2
7. *Other*......................................	1	2

4. On what occasions do you communicate your expectation to your child?

____

____

____

5. How would you characterize your child's attitude toward school?

Enthusiastic about going..1
Generally happy about school......................................2
Sometimes happy, simetimes not....................................3
Frequently tense and anxious......................................4
Worried about school..5
Reluctant to go to school...6
Resists going to school...7
*Other*________________________________ 8
(Specify)

6. How would you account for the above attitude (s) of your child?

____

____

____

7a. Does s/he talk about school when s/he returns from school?

Yes.....................................1
No..........*(Skip to Q 7C)*............2

7b. What does s/he speak about?

____

____

7c. Why doesn't s/he talk about school?

____

____

8. How would you express your feelings about your child's academic progress in his/her school?

Very satisfied (Skip to Q 10).....................................1
Satisfied (Skip to Q 10)..2
Both satisfied and dissatisfied...................................3
Somewhat dissatisfied...4
Very dissatisfied...5

9. If you are not satisfied with your child's academic progress in school, what have you done about it?

Gone to school to see for myself..........1
Telephoned school..........2
Talked with the teacher personally..........3
Worked with my child on schoolwork..........4
Other (specify) ______________________________ 5
Did nothing..........6

10. During the past school year, has your child had problems in any of the following areas?

	Yes	No
Speaking English	1	2
Reading English	1	2
Keeping up with academic work because of language	1	2
Getting along with teachers	1	2
Getting along with classmates	1	2
Has had no problems	1	2

(If all no, skip to Q 12)

11. If your child has had any of these problems, what have you done to help solve these problems?

____

____

____

12. Do you feel familiar with the kinds of experiences and learning your child has had in his/her school in the past year or so?

Yes..........1
No..........2
NA..........3

13. How often do you look over the work that your child brings home from school to see what s/he is doing?

Always..........1
Frequently..........2
Sometimes..........3
Not very often..........4
Never..........5

14. Have you ever been contacted by your child's teacher concerning your child's work in school?

Yes..........1
No..........2

15. What were the reasons for such contacts?

____

____

____

____

16. Has your child's teacher ever asked you to come to school to show or tell about Korean culture or experiences?

Yes	1
No. *(Skip to Q 18)*	2

17. If yes, were you able to respond to such requests?

Yes	1
No	2
NA	3

18. Do the grades your child receives in school accurately reflect his/her ability and accomplishments?

Always	1
Frequently	2
Sometimes	3
Seldom	4
Never	5

19. Which person in your family generally makes contact with your child's teacher and school?

Mother	1
Father	2
Older Siblings	3
Other ____________ *(Specify)*	4

20. Do you generally understand the official notes that your child brings home from school?

Yes... *(Skip to Q 22)*	1
No	2
NA	3

21. If you did not understand these notes, what have you done about it?

____

____

____

22. Have you had trouble talking with school personnel?

Yes	1
No.... *(Skip to Q 24)*	2
NA.... *(Skip to Q 24)*	3

23. If so, what seemed to cause this difficulty?

Language problem	1
School hard to contact	2
Biased in handling complaints	3
Not responsive	4
Other ____________ *(Specify)*	5

24. During the past school year, did you or any other member of your family attend parent-teacher conferences held at your child's school?

Yes..1
No....*(Skip to Q 28)*........................2
NA....*(Skip to Q 30)*........................3

25. If you did attend any of these conferences, about how many of them did you go to?

All of the scheduled conferences............................1
Most of the scheduled conferences...........................2
Just one or two...3

26. If you attended some of these conferences, how helpful did you find them in understanding what is going on in your child's school?

Very helpful...(Skip to Q 29)...............................1
Helpful........(Skip to Q 29)...............................2
Not very helpful..3
Not helpful at all..4
Undecided...5

27. If you did not find these conferences helpful, what seemed to be the reasons for this?

Conference wasn't well organized............................1
There was no chance to ask questions........................2
Had trouble understanding because of the language barrier..........3
Topics covered in conference did not seem relevant to my concerns...4
Did not feel welcome..5
*Other*______________________________..........6
(Specify)

Skip to Q 30

28. What prevented you from attending the parent-teacher conference?

Schedule conflicted with my work............................1
Too busy and tired to go....................................2
Forgot about the meeting....................................3
I felt I would not benefit from the conference due to communication problems...4
I don't feel welcome in my child's school...................5
*Other*______________________________..........6
(Specify)

29. Will you attend such conferences in the future?

Yes..1
No...2

30. During the past school year, did you or any other member of your family attend any meetings (PTA or other) at your child's school?

Yes..1
No.......*(Skip to Q 33)*....................2
NA.......*(Skip to Q 33)*....................3

31. If you attended some of these meetings, how helpful did you find them in understanding what is going on in your child's school?

Very Helpful...(Skip to Q 33)..1
Helpful........(Skip to Q 33)..2
Not very helpful...3
Not helpful at all...4
Undecided..5

32. If you did not find these meetings helpful, what seemed to be the reasons for this?

Meetings not well organized..1
There was no chance to ask questions.................................2
Had trouble understanding because of the language barrier............3
Meeting topics didn't apply to my situation..........................4
Did not feel welcome...5
*Other*____..............6
(Specify)

33. Do you feel that your child's school experience creates cultural conflicts between you and your child? Whether you answer yes, or no, please give reasons for why you feel the way you do about this.

____

____

____

____

34. By what first name is your child generally known at school?

____

35. How did this come about? (Whether Korean or English)

____

____

36. Has your child ever complained about being called names or being generally discriminated against at school?

No, child has not reported any such experiences..(Skip to Q 39)...1
Yes, classmates and peers have picked on him.......................2
Yes, classmates or peers have called him names.....................3
Yes, school personnel or adults have picked on him.................4
Yes, school personnel or adults have called him names..............5

37. When your child complained about being called names or picked on at school, what did you do? *(Probe)*

____

____

____

38. Now we would like to know about yourself. How many years have you lived:

In Chicago.................................___
In the United States.......................___

39. Do you own or rent this house/apartment?

Own--house..1
Rent--house...2
Own apartment...3
Rent apartment..4
Other, *(Specify)* ____________________________..............5

40. Are you currently....

Married with spouse present.............................1
Married with spouse not present.........................2
Separated...3
Divorced..4
Widowed, or...5
Never married?..6

41. To what groups or organizations do you belong?

1____________________
2____________________
3____________________
4____________________
5____________________
6____________________

42a. Counting yourself, how many people live in this household?____ *(Number)*

42b. For each person, starting with yourself, would you please tell me their age, sex, and relationship to you.

Age	*Sex* *M*	*F*	*Relationship*
______	1	2	RESPONDENT
______	1	2	______________
______	1	2	______________
______	1	2	______________
______	1	2	______________
______	1	2	______________

IF AT LEAST ONE CHILD FIVE YEARS OF AGE OR YOUNGER RESIDES AT HOME, ASK Q. 43; OTHERWISE SKIP TO Q. 45.

43. Who usually cares for the child (ren)?

Relative	1
Neighbor or friend	2
Day care center...*(Skip to Q 44)*	3
R. or spouse......*(Skip to Q 44)*	4
Other *(Specify)* ______________________	5

43b. Is the chil (ren) cared for in your home or somewhere else?

Home	1
Outside Home	2

44. What is the employment status of you and your spouse? *(show card)*

	HUSBAND	WIFE
A. I have a full-time job	1	1
B. I have a part-time job	2	2
C. I have more than one job	3	3
D. I am unable to work at this time (Illness Etc.)	4	4
E. I am looking for employment, but not working right now	5	5
F. I am unemployed, not looking	6	6
G. I am occupied with homemaking	7	7

45a. What is your main occupation or job title?........................Wife______
......................Husband_____

____

45b. What kind of work do you do; that is, what are your duties in this job?

____

45c. What does your company manufacture or sell; or what service does it provide?

____

46a. What is your spouses' main occupation or job title?

____

46b. What kind of work does your spouse do; that is what are his/her duties in this job?

____

46c. What does his/her company manfacture or sell; or what service does it provide?

____

47. **How much formal education and training have you and your spouse obtained in Korea and in the United States?**

	HUSBAND		**WIFE**	
	KOREA	**U.S.**	**KOREA**	**U.S.**
Elementary school or less	01	01	01	01
Some high school	02	02	02	02
Some high school plus trade or commercial school	03	03	03	03
High school graduate	04	04	04	04
Trade or commercial school beyond high school	05	05	05	05
Some college, no degree	06	06	06	06
College graduate	07	07	07	07
Master's degree	08	08	08	08
Doctor's degree *(Specify)* ____________	09	09	09	09
Other *(Specify)*	10	10	10	10

____

48. **If your child misbehaves at home, and both you and your spouse are present, who is usually responsible for disciplining the child?**

Mother	1
Father	2
Older Sibling	3
Other ______________________________	4

49. **If your child needs to be disciplined, what methods do you usually use?**

Physical (spanking, etc.)	1
Confinement to room	2
Taking away privileges	3
Talking sternly (scolding)	4
Talking first and spanking later	5
Other ______________________________ *(Specify)*	6

50. **Please indicate how often you do each of the following activities:**

	Daily	*At least once a week*	*Less than once a week*
Read to child in Korean	1	2	3
Read to child in English	1	2	3
Socialize with other Korean families so children can get together	1	2	3
Socialize with American families so that children can get together	1	2	3

50a. **How often do you observe Korean and American holidays?**

	Every Occasion	*Some of the Time*	*Never*
Korean holidays	1	2	3
American holidays	1	2	3

51. Is your child in a bilingual program at school?

Yes..1
No...*(Skip to Q 55)*........................2

52. What is your general impression of the bilingual program in which your child is enrolled, with respect to your child's development?

Very helpful...1
Generally helpful..2
Not helpful..3
Does more harm than good.....................................4
Undecided..5

53. What is your religious preference?___________________________

54. Here is a list of things which pertain to American culture. Which ones would you like to see your child learn and adopt, and which would you like to see him/her avoid?

Speak English most of the time............Adopt___.........Avoid___
Self-reliance in problem solving..........Adopt___.........Avoid___
Being more assertive......................Adopt___.........Avoid___
Being open and candid about one's
  thoughts and feelings...................Adopt___.........Avoid___
Develop individuality.....................Adopt___.........Avoid___
Nuclear family orientation................Adopt___.........Avoid___
Meeting problems head-on..................Adopt___.........Avoid___
Other traits *(Specify)*..................Adopt___.........Avoid___
____

55. Now here is a list of things which pertain to Korean culture. Which ones would you like to see your child learn and maintain, and which would you like to see him/her discard?

Korean language..........................Maintain___.....Discard___
Obedience to elders......................Maintain___.....Discard___
Respect for authority....................Maintain___.....Discard___
Politeness...............................Maintain___.....Discard___
Self-sacrifice...........................Maintain___.....Discard___
Modesty about one's own accomplishments...Maintain___.....Discard___
Maintain face............................Maintain___.....Discard___
Extended family orientation..............Maintain___.....Discard___
Other *(Specify)*_______________________Maintain___.....Discard___

56. What would you like your child to be when s/he grows up?

____

Here are some statements with which some Korean parents will agree, and some disagree, more or less strongly. Please read each statement, and then circle the response below the statement that comes closest to describing how *you* feel about the statement.

57. Korean children should be taught about Korean history and culture so that they can have pride and positive self-identity.

Strongly agree___ Agree___ Neutral___ Disagree___ Strongly disagree___

58. Korean children should learn about their heritage mainly from the home.

Strongly agree___ Agree___ Neutral___ Disagree___ Strongly disagree___

59. I think the school should help my child learn American ways of behaving and become more like the American children in the neighborhood.

Strongly agree___ Agree___ Neutral___ Disagree___ Strongly disagree___

60. If my child misbehaves at school, I want to know about it so that I can take care of it.

Strongly agree___ Agree___ Neutral___ Disagree___ Strongly disagree___

61. I would like to see the public school give my child more extensive and challenging homework to do.

Strongly agree___ Agree___ Neutral___ Disagree___ Strongly disagree___

62. The lowest kind of person is one who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.

Strongly agree___ Agree___ Neutral___ Disagree___ Strongly disagree___

63. For a child, the advantages of having two languages and two cultures outweigh the disadvantages.

Strongly agree___ Agree___ Neutral___ Disagree___ Strongly disagree___

64. If my child is having trouble with his school work, it is the school's responsibility to give extra help to him/her.

Strongly agree___ Agree___ Neutral___ Disagree___ Strongly disagree___

65. Being in a bilingual program is a good way for a Korean child to learn about his/her cultural heritage.

Strongly agree___ Agree___ Neutral___ Disagree___ Strongly disagree___

66. If one of my child's American classmates invited him/her to visit, I would urge my child to go.

Strongly agree___ Agree___ Neutral___ Disagree___ Strongly disagree___

67. A child should never be allowed to talk back to his parents, or else he will lose respect for them.

Strongly agree___ Agree___ Neutral___ Disagree___ Strongly disagree___

68. I expect my children to support and care for me in my old age.

Strongly agree___ Agree___ Neutral___ Disagree___ Strongly disagree___

69. Generally, I don't approve of my children inviting American children over to our house to play.

Strongly agree___ Agree___ Neutral___ Disagree___ Strongly disagree___

70. As children grow older, they should be allowed to assume more responsibility and self-direction.

Strongly agree___ Agree___ Neutral___ Disagree___ Strongly disagree___

In the following questions, please check the response that pertains to you.

71. How well do you speak, read, and write English?

	Speak	*Read*	*Write*
Fluently..	___	___	___
Good..	___	___	___
Fair..	___	___	___
Poor..	___	___	___
Not at all......................................	___	___	___

72. What language newspapers do you read regularly (four or more times a week)?

Korean language.. 1___
English.. 2___
Both Korean and English papers................................... 3___
I don't read any papers regularly................................ 4___

73. What is the language you speak with your children?

Korean always..1___
Korean most of the time..2___
Korean and English, half and half..................................3___
English most of the time...4___
English always...5___

74. What is the language you speak with your spouse?

Korean always..1_____
Korean most of the time..2_____
Korean and English, half and half..................................3_____
English most of the time...4_____
English always...5_____

75. How important is it to you that your children marry Koreans?

I will be terribly disappointed if they don't......................1_____
Important..2_____
Not important..3_____
Very important...4_____

76. Is your present income equal to that of comparable American workers?

Definitely Yes...1_____
Probably Yes...2_____
Hard to Say..3_____
Probably No..4_____
Definitely No..5_____

77. With your level of education, are you receiving a fair income?

Definitely Yes..1_____
Probably Yes..2_____
Hard to Say...3_____
Probably No...4_____
Definitely No...5_____

78. Is your present occupation commensurate with the educational level you have achieved?

Definitely Yes..1_____
Probably Yes..2_____
Hard to Say...3_____
Probably No...4_____
Definitely No...5_____

79. Do most Americans accept you as their equal?

Definitely Yes..1_____
Probably Yes..2_____
Hard to Say...3_____
Probably No...4_____
Definitely No...5_____

80. What is the nature of your contact with Americans which gives you the above impression?

Work situation..1_____
Friends...2_____
Neighbors...3_____
General Impression......................................4_____
Mass media..5_____

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

TEACHER'S NAME ____________________ CHILD'S CASE NUMBER ________________

INTERVIEWER I.D. #____________________ SCHOOL #________________________

How would you describe this child in each of the following categories? Please check the appropriate box.

	OUTSTANDING	SATISFACTORY	NEEDS IMPROVEMENT
1. Social/emotional maturity			
2. Participation in group activities			
3. Respect for rights and opinions of others			
4. Using own ideas			
5. Accepting and carrying out responsibilities			
6. Self-control			
7. Ability to plan and work independently			
8. Working with others			
9. Use of time and materials			
10. Neatness and care in work			
11. Listening to learn (attentiveness)			
12. Following (oral) directions			
13. Contributions to discussions and planning			
14. Ability to express ideas			
15. Use of word attack skills			
16. Word memory			
17. Comprehension			
18. Up to class level in math			
19. Experimentation with creative materials in art			
20. Participation in songs, rhythms, and listening			

Below are some activities or behaviors that children sometimes exhibit in classroom situations. For each one, please circle the word which indicates how often, in your experience, this child shows each of these behaviors.

21.	Asks for teacher's help	Frequently	Moderately	Seldom	Never
22.	Shows initiative in using English	Frequently	Moderately	Seldom	Never
23.	Initiates disruptive behavior	Frequently	Moderately	Seldom	Never
24.	Participates in disruptive behavior (initiated by others)	Frequently	Moderately	Seldom	Never
25.	Talks with other children in class (during work time)	Frequently	Moderately	Seldom	Never
26.	Is shy about his/her own achievements	Frequently	Moderately	Seldom	Never
27.	Mentions members of his/her immediate (nuclear) family	Frequently	Moderately	Seldom	Never
28.	Mentions members of his/her extended family	Frequently	Moderately	Seldom	Never
29.	Is polite in social situations	Frequently	Moderately	Seldom	Never
30.	Is respectful to adults	Frequently	Moderately	Seldom	Never
31.	Works quietly and intently on school work	Frequently	Moderately	Seldom	Never
32.	Has trouble finding the right words to express himself/herself	Frequently	Moderately	Seldom	Never
33.	Is openly proud of his/her academic achievements	Frequently	Moderately	Seldom	Never
34.	Is careful to collect his/her work papers and belongings and take them home	Frequently	Moderately	Seldom	Never

For the following items, please write in the information requested or circle the number of the response.

35. By what first name is this child usually known in school?____________________

36. If this is not the child's given name, how was it arrived at?

Child asked to be called by this name. 1
Other children gave him/her this name. 2
Name was given on roll this way. 3
Other____ 4
(specify)

37. Have you ever called, contacted, or met with this child's parents?

Yes, only at the regular parent-teacher conference. 1
Yes, once or twice this year. 2
Yes, several times this year. 3
No, have not contacted parents this year. 4

38. Have the parents of this child ever contacted you about their child's school work?

Yes, only at the regular parent-teacher conference. 1
Yes, once or twice this year. 2
Yes, several times this year. 3
No, have not contacted me this year. 4

39. If you have talked with this child's parents about the child's school work (either at their instigation or yours), how would you judge their attitude toward the child's school work?

Have high standards, really want child to succeed. 1
Are positive, but not pushy. 2
Don't seem to care much either way about school. 3
Have negative attitude, don't see value of school. 4

40. Do you have this child in a bilingual or TESL program? Yes,TESL____ Neither____ Yes,Bilingual____

41. If you have this child in a bilingual program, how do you feel the child is responding?

Very positively, is developing strong cultural identity. 1
Okay, child seems to like this situation. 2
Doesn't seem to make much difference. 3
Child should probably be put back in regular program. 4

42. Have you made any special efforts to help the child with two languages and two cultures?

Have had formal programs about language and cultural differences. 1
Have worked one-to-one with the child about this. 2
Have not made any special efforts in this area. 3
Child does not need special help. 4

43. If you have had formal programs on cultural differences in the classroom, have the child's parents participated in these programs?

Yes, at my request. 1
Yes, they suggested helping with this. 2
No, they refused to participate. 3
No, I used other program techniques. 4

44. How would you rate this child's English fluency?
Definitely a problem, needs improvement. 1
He's coping, but still needs to improve. 2
Has some problems, but is generally doing well. 3
Has no problems with English. 4

45. Do you feel a need for inservice training?
Yes. 1
No 2

45a. If yes, in what areas would you like to see inservice training?

Interviewer Name____________________
Interviewer I.D. #____________________

Sequence #__________
Date________________
Sex: M____ F____
Age______________

Child Questionnaire

1. What school do you go to? 어떤 학교에 다니는지요?

____

2. What is your teacher's name? 담임 선생님 이름은 무엇이예요?

____

3. Do you like to go to school? 학교 가기를 좋아 하는지요?

Yes	1
No (Skip to Q 5)	2

4. What do you like to do best in school?
학교에서 제일 좋아하는 것이 무엇인지요? ____________________

____

5. What don't you like about your school?
학교에서 싫은 것이 무엇인지요? ____________________

____

6. What is the most difficult thing for you in the American school?
미국 학교에서 제일 어려운 것이 무엇인지요? ____________________

____

⑦ Who is your best friend at school? 학교에서 제일 친한 친구는 누구인가요?
(If the name is ambiguous as to nationality, probe.)

Korean	1
American	2
Both	3

8. What name do the other children call you?
다른 아이들이 너를 어떤 이름으로 부르는지요? ____________________

9. Do you like it when they call you this?
그 이름으로 부르는 것을 좋아 하나요?

Yes(Skip to Q 11)	1
No	2

10. What name would you rather have them call you?
어떤 이름으로 불러주면 좋은가요?

____

⑪ Which do you like best, Korean or American food?
한국 음식이나 미국음식중 어떤 것을 더 좋아 하는지요?

Korean	1
American	2
Both	3

⑫ Do you speak Korean with your mother and father?

부모님과 한국말로 이야기 하는지요?

Yes.....................................1
No......................................2
Korean and English combined............3

13. Tell me the names of some of the children you play with after school. *(Ascertain whether Korean or American.)*

학교에서 돌아와서 같이 노는 아이들 이름은?

	K	A		K	A

14. Do the kids at school ever pick on you or call you bad names?

학교에서 다른아이들이 너를 놀리는지?

Yes, pick on or call names.............1
No (Skip to Q 16).......................2

15. When they call you names or pick on you, what do you do?

다른 아이들이 놀릴적에 어떻게 하는지? ______________________________

____

16. If you could go anywhere in the world, where would you like to go?

만일 세상에서 어느곳이나 갈수있다면 어디에 가고 싶은지? ____________

____

17. If you could be like some other person you know, who would it be?

커서 누구같이 되고 싶은지? ______________________________________

18. Why would you like to be like this person?

왜 그 사람같이 되고 싶은지? ______________________________________

____

⑲ Does your mother or father ever help you with your schoolwork?

어머니나 아버지가 숙제하는데 도와 주시는지?

Yes, father.............................1
Yes, mother.............................2
Yes, both...............................3
No......................................4
NA......................................5

20. When you are at school, what subject do you like most?

학교에서 어떤 과목을 제일 좋아하는지? ________________________

____

21. Does your mother or father ever come to visit at your school?

어머니나 아버지가 학교방문을 하시는지?

Yes, father (Skip to Q 23).............1
Yes, mother (Skip to Q 23).............2
No.....................................3

22. Would you like them to come to your school sometime?

아버지 어머니께서 학교에 오셨으면 하는지?

Yes....................................1
No.....................................2
DK.....................................3

23. Did you like having them come to your school?

아버지 어머니께서 학교에 오셨을때 좋아 했는지?

Yes....................................1
No.....................................2
DK.....................................3

24. What do you think your parents want you to be when you grow up?

아버지 어머니께서 네가 커서 무엇이 되기를 원하시는지 알고있니?

____

25. Do you think you are doing as well in school as your parents want you to?

아버지 어머니께서 바라시는 만큼 네가 공부를 잘 하고 있니?

Yes....................................1
No.....................................2
DK.....................................3

26. Do you have trouble understanding what the teacher says?

선생님 말씀 하시는 것을 알아듣기가 어려운지?

Yes....................................1
No.....................................2

27. Is there anything about being Korean that makes trouble for you at school?

네가 한국 아이이기 때문에 학교에서 어려운 일이 생기는 수가 있는지?

Yes....................................1
No (Skip to Q 29)......................2

28. If yes, what is it?

있었으면 어떤 일이 있나? ________________________

29. What would you like to be when you grow up?

커서 무엇이 되고 싶은지? ________________________

질문은 여기서 끝납니다. 고마워요.